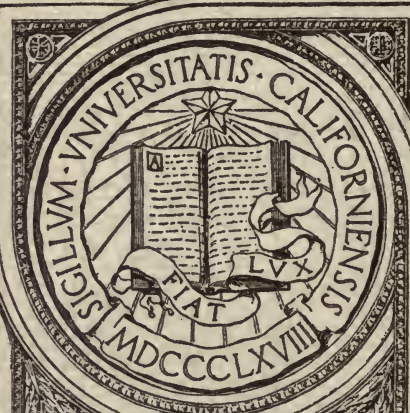


166

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"We want what is best, not for men, nor for parties,
but for the whole people!"



*With the compliments
of S. S. Cox*

SPEECHES
OF
HON. S. S. COX,
IN
Maine, Pennsylvania and New York,
DURING THE CAMPAIGN
OF
1868.

New York:

DOUGLAS TAYLOR'S DEMOCRATIC PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT,
89 NASSAU STREET AND 128 FULTON STREET.

1868.

Opening of the Campaign.

SPEECH

OF

HON. S. S. COX,

AT THE

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, BROOKLYN,

JULY 23, 1868.

HON. HENRY C. MURPHY, President of the meeting, presented Mr. COX. He said: "I have now, gentlemen, the pleasure to present to you a gentleman whom you have heard before. His voice has always been eloquent in the cause of Democracy, and who will, I have no doubt, to-night interest you in the subjects which he will discuss. I present to you Hon. S. S. Cox, formerly of Ohio." (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. COX.

ON the 9th day of April, 1865, at Appomattox, General Lee surrendered. Thus virtually ended the civil war. The soldiers of the South were paroled; their political rights were guaranteed by the honor of our Government, represented by its civil and military power. Secession expired. It died on its own chosen spot—on the field of force. Out of the red storm of the four preceding years of war, we expected a calm. But the storm still mutters. Chaos broods over States whose area is 725,000 square miles,—larger than England, France, Spain, Portugal and Germany—with a population of (12,000,000) twelve millions, and whose annual wealth from one little pod, once calculated the amount of the present annual taxes, the bugles sounded their thrice welcome truce; the skeleton—departed from our borders. The shadow—had taken the census of the rain. The sad days were done. Emotions of

gratitude and gladness welled up in our hearts: "Thank God! Peace—Peace had come at last! With it, a restored and strengthened Union!" (Cheers.) Three years and more have gone since then, but is Peace here? Is the Union restored and stronger? General Grant, in his letter of acceptance the other day, cries out: "Let us have peace!" He means that we have it not. He wouldn't ask for it if we had it. (Laughter.) The Republican platform "congratulates the country on the assured success of the Reconstruction policy of Congress." But is peace here? Is the Union assured? Are the States all in? and if any are in, how? Is the flag—our Union emblem—floating from the Capitols of contented States? Does it not float over arsenals and forts, the emblem of repression and misrule? If so, let me ask

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

I will tell you who is *not* to blame! At the end of the war, the States South were ready for reconciliation. It was their sectional and our national need. The soldiers of the South were content: the people were tired of war; the ground was sated with blood—even the old politicians sought again the old offices, under the old system. From President Johnson and General Grant alike, came the word, in December, 1865, that the "mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith." "Slavery and

secession," said General Grant, "are regarded as settled." He insisted that "the Southern citizens were anxious to return to self-government in the Union as soon as possible." Was this mere whitewash, or fact? Did General Grant tell the truth, or did he lie? I think he told the truth. (Cheers.) Who has robbed us of the fruits of victories bought with such a price? Was there reconciliation needed from the judicial or executive departments toward the South? No. Justice was satisfied. No scaffolds were required. Even good Mr. Greeley went bail for the rebel chief. (Laughter.) The Executive gave amnesty. Only the hyena and other "beasts" (Cries of "Butler.") prowled among charred ruins and grass-covered graves ravening for prey and reprisal. (Cheers.) The reconciliation was cordial between the people. The Executive was earnest in his efforts. He had no power, even by his vetoes, to stop the legislation of Congress, if it were sincere in conciliation. All that was wanted was, what Mr. Lincoln said ought to have been "compelled" by an amendment to the Constitution: Representatives from the South on the floor of Congress. The alienation would thus have been spanned with the Roman bridge of gold; and the Constitution would have furnished the arches for its construction. (Cheers.) The Executive had a plan which harmonized with the Constitution. The Supreme Court, as we now know, would have approved. But Congress, by means of secret caucuses and reconstruction committees, impeded all the efforts of Governors, people, Legislatures, assisted by the departments at Washington, who were ready to bind anew their practical relations, by means of members elect to Congress, and with their good will and allegiance to the old Government. It was Congress which refused their admission. This was a solution of the problem. Congress proposed a dilatory, monstrous, inconsistent, prescriptive ban against amnesty, Union and peace. Now that chaos has come from it, the country is tickled and taunted in a Republican platform, with congratulations on the marvelous success of reconstruction!

It is between this plan of Congress, which settles nothing permanently, and the plan of the Constitution, which is a settlement in form and fact, that furnishes the theme of political debate. Which plan shall be the election of the people? I do not ask a passionate or biased opinion between them. The only question is: "What is best, not for parties, not for soldiers, not for General Grant in gratitude for martial services ren-

dered with rare ability—but what is best for the country?"

DISCONTENT SOUTH.

Before considering why the dominant party has failed to reconcile and rebuild, let me ask whether the discontent at the South now existing has not grown more bitter with each day's delay since General Grant's report in 1865? Wisdom would say, "Look at the fact of discontent and obliterate its existence." The reasons for this bitter feeling, South, may be fallacious; the people may have no just cause for it; but so long as the discontent exists, it is a menace to peace and a source of danger. There are reasons paramount why the discontent should be appeased. Is it a valid reason for prolonging trouble that it is waxing? When grievances grow, is there not more reason for assuaging them? There was some wit, but no wisdom in the remark of Judge Busted, that he would keep the States South out in the cold, till their teeth chattered to the music of the Union. He would increase their discontent, and of course, add new burdens for their further repression. Discontent in communities is the source of crime, laziness, social discord and personal unsafety. Already secret societies, associations and conspiracies, curses of every kind, and outrages of every hue, taking the course of hostility between the races, keeping capital from the Southern borders, and industry paralyzed, are unsettling so much of the established order as the war even did not disturb. These things characterize the situation of the South. Why they exist, why military tyranny, the absence of civil restraint, and the domination of the untutored classes should produce such results, is a social problem, which history and science may solve. But our election is not as to the philosophy, but as to the fact. The skillful surgeon does not inquire into the legal or moral elements of the fray in which his patient has been maimed. He goes to the wound and applies the knife. With all respect to General Grant, I do not see the remedy for our civil disorders in the use of his sword, however skillful its thrust, and brilliant its flash. Its sheath would be worth more. The distribution of arms—now in process of being passed by Congress—to the South, indicates that our first General has not laid aside the symbols of his profession. "Let us have—arms," say the negroes. "Let us have peace," says the General; and he gives them—arms! He holds his own election at the point of the sword. Our diseases require far other treat-

ment. We require constitutional remedies. (Cheers.) We want them backed by the public opinion, which Webster said was stronger than bayonets; which General Blair invokes; and which, to guilty apprehensions, looks so like revolution. These remedies will only come, when that opinion bears into the executive chair Horatio Seymour. (Cheers.)

REPUBLICAN AMNESTY.

The Republican party, after over three years of failure and delay, finds its power on the wane. Great States, east and west, fly from it as from leprosy. Hence, it added a resolution to its late platform, on motion of General Schurz, "commending magnanimity and forbearance toward rebels who co-operate with"—whom? What? With the country? With the Constitution? With the States all? No—with "us!" Their test for the removal of disqualifications is their own partisanship. It is not patriotism. Of course, such a test, as the elections South have determined, cuts off from participation in the Government the great body of the best-informed whites. This commendation of magnanimity is a tricky flash of rhetoric, if not an ironic taunt. It was proven to be empty when it was sought to incorporate Houston, of Alabama, and Jones, of Tennessee, in the Amnesty bill. They were Democrats, and hence no grace for them.

THE FINANCES.

No plan for the peace of the country can be permanent and successful, unless it gives contentment. Contentment, being the source of production and consumption, will re-establish in the South industry and wealth. Without these, the South is not a help, but a weakness and a burden to the country. The North pays taxes, piled Alp on Alp, upon labor and property. The South is, in great part, responsible for these taxes. The sooner she divides this burden with us the better. She is eager for the chance; until she has protection she cannot do this. The North has paid since July 1865, by tariff and tax, some fifteen hundred millions. I doubt not, double that, has been paid, which never went into the Treasury, in the enhanced prices of articles consumed—enhanced by reason of robberies by tax and tariff, to help scoundrels in and out of office, and as bounties to protected classes. At least, Mr. Wells says as much. And yet our debt increases. Last month it increased many millions. It is yet to increase. The debt, however,

must be met. It cannot be reduced so long as the army and the Bureau suck their millions from the Treasury. Moving onward toward gold and silver as the standard of all values, and in the interest of labor and commerce, we should do as Horatio Seymour proposed in his speech of 11th March last, "demand a policy of peace, order and economy, and, by gaining that, lift up the national credit, help the tax-payer, and do justice to the bondholder, and thus make our currency as good as sterling coin." Thus I would have one currency for all, and that currency that of the Constitution. All these financial questions, therefore, resolve themselves into questions of peace, order, and economy. But, as the Republican party have not given us, and cannot give us either; these reliefs from the burdens of taxation cannot come from them.

REPUBLICAN PLAN A FAILURE.

Their plan for permanent peace fails, because it is not in harmony with the fundamental laws of the republic.

To perceive why the Radical policy has failed, and why it will fail when completed, involves an inquiry into the nature and character of our Union. As by the violation of these laws war came, so, by their observance, and by that alone, will peace come. As the immediate cause of the war was the assertion of a right to throw off the paramount Federal authority and withdraw States, so the cause of the present discontent is the practical assertion of the right of Congress, paramount to the organic law, to keep States out, to regulate the conditions of their pretended admission, to intermeddle in their suffrage, and to carry on what legislation they require, by citizens of other States not familiar with their needs.

RECONSTRUCTION ACTS.

Here Mr. Cox discussed at length the relations of the States to the Federal Government, and illustrated the Radical revolutionary policy by the "Reconstruction acts." These acts give all control over the Southern States to Congress, and create military power as its instrument.

The construction and execution of these laws are not confided to the proper civil officers or those trained in the law. The will of any petty officer or soldier who chooses to set up his interpretation is made, by express enactment, judicial, executive and legislative. Of course the officer plays fantastic tricks, which are only relieved

from the ridiculous by the terrible consequences in which they involve all that is dear in life and precious in liberty.

To compass this kind of precarious reconstruction, upon which the Republican platform congratulates us, Congress subverts the original plan of the Government. The division of power, State and Federal, is obliterated. The distribution of powers among the Federal departments is wiped out. The trinity of co-equal departments, checking each other, is transformed into a unity of despotism. The Executive is hobbled. The veto-power is assassinated by the partisan removal of enough members to make the minority less than one-third. The pardoning power of the President is usurped. His power of appointing officers and commanding the army is destroyed. He is only saved from decapitation by one vote! He is again threatened because of his recent vetoes! But he will serve out his term. History will honor him, as the great rock in the weary land, who gave us strength, wealth, and safety. God bless him; as man will honor him!

The Supreme Court begins to consider the status of States. The question is properly before them. At once the Court is threatened with subversion and cowed into submission. Our complex machinery, so nice in its adjustments and perfect in its fitness, with the delicacy of a chronometer and the energy of an engine, is thus deranged, and the only hope of restoration is in the skill and patriotism of the Democratic organization, which has learned in the schools of the old master builders, who builded for us better than they knew, and far better than their descendants understand or practice!

You might readily infer the particular evils incident in these organic changes. Read the reconstruction acts as they are interpreted South by the Satraps. Bayonets regulating private debts; the military deposing State and municipal officers; the elevation to office of vagabonds from other States; the instalation of negroes in the place of whites; the police under military control; the epaulettes giving the law, in military commissions, and supplanting the judicature of the States; all in subversion of *ex post facto* provisions and the rights of *habeas corpus* and fair trial, secured for eight hundred years to our race, and finally, as the climax, admitting States—never out—on condition that they lose their right forever thereafter to revoke negro suffrage, and that their suffrages shall be given on the oath of

the suffragan, that he will *never* dispute negro equality! (Cheers.)

SUFFRAGE: ITS IMPORTANCE AND ABUSE.

All this reconstructive enginery, which is to take the place of our system of government, has one purpose: To perpetuate Radical power by negro votes.

It is not necessary before an American audience to discuss the responsibility of voting. No words can aggrandize its momentous importance. In the last analysis, it is sovereignty. It is the crown and sceptre; nay, the very crown jewel. It should be estimated at its true value. It should be kept untarnished in its lustrous setting. On its proper exercise, hangs our representative system. It is the only vehicle of Democratic sentiment. The elective authority has grown in England and in this country with the progress of intelligence. It will grow more with greater intelligence. If its expression is the result of intimidation by the bayonet or of bribery by bureaus; if it is inspired by malice or ignorance, sovereignty is dethroned and democracy becomes despotism. All the intetests of society, now and hereafter—of person, property, life, and liberty—depend on its fair, intelligent, and honest exercise. Moralists, jurists, civilians of every rank, of every age and land, have given to its consideration their patient thought. Shall it be by ballot or open; whether near the camp or near the ration house; whether under the scowl of employer, or under the coaxing of demagogues? Lord Holt closed his opinion in the famous leading case of *Ashby and White*, which agitated both sides of Westminster Hall—thus: "It is a most transcendant privilege to choose persons as are to bind a man's life and property by the laws they make." Now it is to subvert this inestimable privilege that Radicalism has wreaked itself upon the expression of hateful and unconstitutional laws, and that Northern taxpayers sweat for the rations of lazy, incompetent persons. Why, in one county in Florida, Leon,—where 2,700 negro voters were registered,—35,000 rations were issued last month, just before the election? It is to subvert this privilege that the black belts of the South are thronged with interlopers from the North, styled "carpet-baggers,"—carrying inflammatory appeals and promises of forty acres and a mule to each negro! It is to subvert this privilege that the army, at an expense of one hundred millions, is kept up in the South. According to General Grant's own talk to Senator Doolittle, October 2,

1865, nearly all the troubles between the whites and blacks "were in consequence of the unwise attempt to force negro suffrage on those States;" and yet, it is to introduce this system, that General Grant, while Secretary of War, three years later, discovering that the negroes had not "intelligence sufficient to combine for the expression of their will," ordered the military to be increased for some time, to maintain the freedmen in their right of suffrage, and recommended, its "reduction only after the election!" Which is the General Grant to be approved?

And after negro suffrage is given, what have we? Liberia, where the blacks, starting well, sank to the besotted level of the barbarians around them! What we shall get, we can tell from what has occurred. The annals of the black race, if annals they ever had, record that, unschooled, the equality of the black is "but a pilloried equality, set up for a gazing-stock and scorn among the nations of the earth." I challenge the whole array of negrophilists to show one example in history of free government maintained by the black or colored races. Take any place, choose any era—even go into the mixed, or Mongolian races, and the result is the same. All the republics south of us show us fifty years of anarchy as the result of this equality. Hayti aped imperialism, till even the imperials laughed at the travestie. She exists now only in chronic spasms. She has just made Salnave her emperor. In Jamaica and the other British isles negroes do vote; but under the tutelage of the British officers, who in vain strive to repress the black outrages.

This is the table to which Radicalism invites the American people this fall. The table is already partly spread with dainties. The negro already votes in the South. It is proposed by the newly coddled constitutions to perpetuate this privilege by irrevocable law. The groundwork and corner-stone of the new constitutions in the South is this equality. It is more. It is the supremacy of the black. It tends to the antagonism of races, the destruction in the end of the weaker race, and in its destruction involving the social and material interests of one-third of the Union.

THE CONSTITUTIONS SOUTH.

I propose for a moment to sift these devices of Radicalism.

To give one comprehensive statement; Over 700,000 ignorant negroes, mostly led by itinerants, without name at the North, and seeking

the gratification of their greed South,—the bums of the Radical army, and the stipendiaries of Congress and Freedman's Bureaux, are all at once made voters! They furnish legislators for the whole country. The constitution of Alabama is a negro constitution to the extent of 57,-287 negro majority. In Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas, Texas and Virginia, where the whites had some 20,000 more registered voters than the blacks, nevertheless, owing to the chronic discontent, the vote showed a negro majority of 251,-496! These constitutions were made to order in Washington. They are all cut from one pattern. It is not a matter of interest to the South alone; but to the North also. Twenty Senators, over fifty Representatives, and seventy electoral votes for President, will wield in the Federal counsels the power of ten States. They hold the balance of power. In the Senate, Florida nullifies New York. If the elections are at all equi-poised, as in 1856-60,—these black votes will rule! We are then a black republic! It is a terrible peril. These 700,000 black voters can destroy our best policies. They may vote down our credit; tax at pleasure; vote to themselves our public lands, and repudiate at will. If your children go South to live,—they have to go under irrevocable laws, enacting that such suffrage shall forever be continued. The voter South must swear that he accepts the civil and political equality of all men. Where are the voters in New York, Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, who have refused thus to vote? Disfranchised! Nearly two millions of Democratic voters in the North are thus aliens from the South. Thus the union of equal States becomes a sham and a shame! (Cheers.)

That I do not overstate the facts, read the constitutions of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Virginia and Louisiana. You will find that every voter must swear that he recognizes and accepts the civil and political equality of black and white. Even though the voter may believe Omnipotence has made distinctions which should be observed between the races, he is ostracised as a voter till he pierces the veil of Omniscience, and by some transcendental intuition from his own superior divinity, swears that the gross, lazy, unprogressive, and ignorant worshipper of a devil Fetish on an Alabama plantation is his equal, civil and political! I should not wonder if considerable swearing were the result of such a policy. Already States are admitted with this irrevocable condition. True, they were never out.

True, Congress has affirmed in its preamble admitting Arkansas, that she has by the Legislature of the State—before admission—accepted the 14th amendment. True, there was no Legislature until, according to the reconstruction law, the State constitution was approved by Congress. Still she is admitted. True, the President has found no warrant for her admission, as she was never legally out; and according to the law of Congress admitting her, never legally ready to come in. But she is in! Well, her Senators will soon be voting on our interests; and the work of preparing for voting the Radical ticket by negro and military forces will be begun.

Next comes the Omnibus bill for six others—North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas may follow, though I see to-day that it is proposed to put them to the sword yet awhile. The play is then to end in some giddy Black Crook spectacle! These constitutions are the product of negro incubation, aided and ad-dled by the warmth of Northern vagrants who, cuckoo-like, have set upon eggs not their own. (Laughter.) Here and there are delegates from Canada and Jamaica, unnaturalized! Think of it, gentlemen from the Liffey and the Rhine. Mixed in this mosaic are unpardoned culprits from South and North. Here a black scoundrel from Sing Sing; there a horse-thief from the penitentiary of Ohio! Here a razor-bearing barber, innocent of all but lather; and there a razor-cutting assassin, guilty of all the crimes in the calendar. These prepare sovereign States for the family of Washington! They are manufacturing Radical representation. Listen to their senseless jargon and audacious malignity. Is it some mummery of dim traditions, caught from their African forests? No; these are the peers of Randolph, Pinckney, Madison, Roger Sherman, and Hamilton. They are making organic laws for millions of intelligent people! Take a photograph—a colored photograph—of a Southern convention. A few whites sit there in simple courage and sadness. They can do no good. Conspicuous only for their modesty and intelligence, they sit aloof from this extravaganza. A Huncutt comes forth as ring-master. Parti-colored clowns appear. The reconstruction tan-bark is raked over, and here we are, Mr. Merryman! The black horse, Equality, is trotted out, and then begins the eternal round of loyal talk. But do these caricatures of men make constitutions? No; no. Ohio has the rod over Louisiana!

Kansas has her lash on the back of Arkansas! Wisconsin cares for Florida! New York and New England have their busy-bodies all through! and behold! these constitutions arise not like the walls of the ancient city, to Orphean music, but to the banjo of negro minstrelsy! (Cheers and laughter.)

IRREVOCABLE LAW.

Who but statesmen like these could ever have read Jeremy Bentham's essay against irrevocable laws, so as the more closely to violate its wisdom. These conventions of Progressives ordain that black suffrage shall never be. Never—*never!* NEVER! *They* are indeed ministers of the unchangeable! They, priests of the only Perfect! Time, which reforms for others—what can time do for them? Shall not wisdom die with *them*? And Congress admits the irrevocable law, as if it could shiver with a straw from the fanatic giver, the lance of Democracy in its grand and growing future. (Cheers.)

This irrevocable law is as useless as it is senseless. It is revolutionary, as Dr. Arnold says, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive as the strain to keep things fixed, when all the world by the law of its creation, is in eternal progress. How much more revolutionary to try to keep a bad, base thing when the world rolls on for eternal good? The attempt is almost ridiculous. It is only equalled by the fuddled fellow who was seen clambering up an overshot wheel in a fulling mill. "What are you about?" said one. "Going to bed, but the darned thing won't hold still." This will be the repose of the Radical irrevocable law. (Laughter.)

It might be of interest to white persons in the North, where we have repudiated negro suffrage, to look at the results of these conventions. Go to South Carolina. There the negro is dominant. The whites are disfranchised and the negroes are not. There, negroes who own not an acre, and who cannot command a dollar, propose to tax property and people. It is a tax levied by indolence and poverty, on industry and property. The negro who has nothing, proposes to tax the white man who has all. Very well. Let arrogant ignorance rule! Will it placate? They make the schools open to all—compel the white to send his child against all his tastes and nature, and to mingle in their black and tan school, and tax him for its existence. Will this last? They propose to raise two millions out of an impoverished State, which in its best days could not raise more than

\$400,000. Of course under such burdens, labor is dislocated and government becomes a crucifixion. Will it last? (Cries of "No".)

Go to Mississippi! What a Convention! It is well called a chain gang. It numbers one hundred. Out of that number there are seventy-five whites, among them five Mississippians. There are ten outside negroes. They proceed to work and their work will—stand? will it? (Cries of "Never".)

The truth is, some of these constitutions are the result of violations of these very odious reconstruction laws in many particulars. In some of the States the voters were less than a majority of the registry. A breach of faith—a Congressional lie!—but what matter? Has not Congress power paramount to all States? Is not Congress already reproached with having kept the Union dissolved? Must not something be done? Must not these black States be counted in the Electoral College for Radicalism? Is not this restoration indispensable to this count? And is there not already arranged a fresh registry for the Electoral College? And to do this where is the limit of effrontery or the bound of usurpation which this Congress will not overstep?

NEGRO SUFFRAGE NORTH AND SOUTH.

That this expression is not too severe, read the second resolve of the Republican platform—"Equal suffrage to the loyal men of the South; but in the North, leave it to the States!" Ah! They have left it to the North, and the people have responded, thundering for white men and white civilization; but at the South, it is only loyal to be black in face or heart; therefore, let the bayonet and Bureau fix suffrage!

Yes, in the North, where their power is tottering, the Radicals recognize States, and leave suffrage to them. They condescend to recognize New York and Ohio as sovereign over suffrage; but in the South, even after they become States, black suffrage is to be a fundamental and unchangeable condition, an irrevocable law. Forgetting their old claim that suffrage was a natural right to all manhood everywhere, they now pretend it is a matter of locality and not of principle. It is a natural right in Louisiana but it is a creature of statute in Connecticut. It is a natural right in the Southern portion of the family; but, as the old lady said of the measles, "there wasn't enough of it to go round through all the children." (Laughter.) The Northern white may

deny votes to the negro, the Southern white may not. This is equality! One law here, another there. Equality! A little retail negro suffrage here, where it can do little harm, is denied; wholesale negro suffrage there is enforced where it is supreme! What means this discrimination? If Congress can overturn white suffrage South, can it not overturn black suffrage South hereafter? Or can it not establish black suffrage North, and withhold it from the whites? If the States South have not the sovereign power in this regard, have the States North? If so, what then? What will be the vetoes of General Grant on these new issues? So that at last, after all their schemes for equality and suffrage, this Radical party is driven to the necessity of making compacts with States not cognizable by the Constitution, of holding out the open hand to the negroes South while shaking its clenched fist at the more intelligent negroes North.

This is, at least, after so many weary years of national unrest, the anodyne, for our feverish body politic. This is the balm for the wounds of war! This is the statesmanship of a party who seek to strengthen the nation by emasculating its voting strength, and killing its material and industrial interests.

PRACTICAL RESULTS.

Can you wonder that, as a consequence, industry fails to be stimulated; that crops are not planted, because there is no surety of their harvest? Can you wonder that the little white pod which once gave a billion of spindles to the land, and the trident of commerce to the sea, sickens and dies, furnishing only one-half of its old produce as the media of exchange? Can you wonder that we export fifty millions in gold to supply the nation with sugar, all of which might have been raised at home? Can you wonder that the alligator has usurped the sugar lands, as Congress has slithered over the sweet and blessed amenities of political concord? Can you wonder that the North is weaker for its connection with the South—paying its taxes and being drained for its terrible excesses? Can you wonder that discontent continues—increases, and threatens to destroy? Can you wonder that disaffection is becoming as chronic with us as in Ireland toward England. (Cheers.)

ENGLISH CARPET-BAGGERS.

Radicals! go you to Ireland, that "Poland of the seas!" Green in her soil, and, alas! ever

green in her bleeding wounds. Go to her, seven hundred years ago! Go to her, when England boasted of her Charter wrung from King John by her potential barons! Read our future miseries in her past history, and her discontent in Radical philosophy. After one hundred and fifty years of perpetual harassment, the Irish chiefs, at last tired of lust, of plunder and power, appealed to Pope John XXII. : "We had," they said, "a written code of laws, according to which our nation was governed hitherto: they have deprived us of those laws and have established other, iniquitous laws, by which injustice and inhumanity are combined for our destruction." They announced their determination to shake off the detestable yoke and clear out the English carpet-baggers. Ever since, till the last Irishman was hung on an English gibbet uttering his prayers for old Ireland and his curses for England, has this condition of foreign and tyrannous misrule continued. Pestilence and poverty, poverty and pestilence, trouble and tyranny, tyranny and trouble, confiscation and cruelty, cruelty and confiscation, Cromwells and Straffords, Puritans and Roundheads—all mark the era of this rule of the English carpet-baggers!

The parallel is painfully accurate. Spoliation, oppression, confiscation, statesmen unlearned and unlearning, pagans in religion and devils in politics, are, in this land, following the English lesson, to the misery and destruction of one-third of this people! Their very tactics are the same. In seven years our Radicalism has learned all the practices of seven hundred years of English tyranny (cheers).

DEMOCRACY THE REMEDY.

Where is the relief? I answer, as President Johnson said, when he came to Washington, "The only salvation is in the Democratic party!" Its history is coeval with the Constitution, and will be co-eternal with the Government. In all that gives stability to industry, freedom to trade, standards to currency, equality in taxation, economy in administration, self-government to States, peace to the Union, at home, peace, abroad, peace and glory, in all that makes up a law-abiding and Constitution-revering party, the Democracy will stand in the next seventy years, as it did in the seventy years before the war—a wall of adamant against the waves of Radicalism (Cheers). It is this party that has made our land great and our Government strong, not by the collisions of civil war, but by the cultivation of concord. Un-

der the control of Democracy, we should, before now, have had this whole continent banded under a federal head, holding half our hemisphere, as gravity holds the stars, by the system of constitutional law (cheers).

Before the war the Democracy strove to save the nation with earnest, patriotic and peaceful endeavors. During the war it commanded its sons to the field with melancholy pride; and it gave its sweetest blood to the Cause, as it had given its kindest counsels. Horatio Seymour, by his speeches and his administration in New York, is a fair type and noble illustration of Democratic patriotism. His record is crystalline. In vain slander assails it. He, like the party whose exponent he is, accepted the results of the war as they were declared, as in honor bound, and in the spirit of Christian amnesty, "with malice to none, charity to all, to bind up the nation's wounds, and to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." In this spirit the Democracy intend to contend. If they fail, then the stars in their courses are against them. If they succeed, the spirit of Christ will temper the people, and all that is forgiving and good will encompass the Constitution as sentinels for its guard and its sweet honor! Then, over and out of the cataract, seething and foaming with the passions engendered by our civil strife, there will spring, like Hope,

"A radiant arch, that, with prismatic dyes,
Links North to South, its keystone in the skies."

Speech in Poughkeepsie on the 18th of August, 1868.

Mr. Cox spoke at this place as follows:

Men of Dutchess county, I am very happy this evening to address an audience in the home of my old friend, Judge Nelson, with whom I have served in Congress.

A voice—"Louder."

Mr. Cox—I will work it up pretty soon my friend. If you pour water down a pump you must wait a little while before it will come up at the spout. (Laughter.) I was about to tender to you my acknowledgments for the reception which you have given me. Perhaps the best way to acknowledge the reception is to commence at once the discussion in the matters which you have come out to hear. I do not propose to in-

dulge in any vituperation of our opponents, but would rather lead you to reason among yourselves as I speak to you. Let us see if we cannot come together, Republicans and Democrats, with a view, if possible, to better the condition of the country, for I think everybody will confess that it is not well with us at present. (Applause.) Some three years ago my Republican friends (for I will address you first), secession was beaten upon its own chosen battle-field, as I hoped it would be in the speech which I made in Congress—the second that was made in that body—against secession. I followed that gallant soldier, John A. McClernand, of Illinois—(applause), who was dismissed the other night by General Logan here with hardly a complimentary notice. We held that secession should be throttled. But we are told by some of the Republican speakers that the war is not ended. Our friend Grant says, “Let us have peace,” which shows that he thinks we have not got peace just now, or he would not ask for it. (Laughter and applause.) Over one-third of our country to-day, there broods chaos and anarchy. Why, we thought we had peace when our soldiers came home. We should have had peace in fact, as well as in name. Death, the skeleton, had retired from our borders. Time, with its shadows, had left us mourners by a million of graves. Why have we not peace to-day. General Grant, in December, 1865, told us and told Congress that he had visited the South, and that secession and slavery were both dead, that the thinking men of the South were anxious to return to their allegiance. Did General Grant tell the truth then, or did he lie? Grant told the truth; and when General Logan said the other night that Grant made no mistakes, I will take him at his word, and believe that Grant told the truth when he said the men of the South were ready to accept peace and reconciliation. Why have we not reconciliation to-day? Why has our noble old flag become the emblem of repression and misrule, instead of liberty, in ten States? Who, my Republican brother, is to blame for it? Jeff. Davis has been a prisoner, and what has been done since Lee's surrender with him, except to put him on trial and have him bailed out by Horace Greeley? (Laughter.) I will tell you first who is not to blame—the Northern States, as States, were not to blame; for States—according to the received theory of Republicans, during the war and after the war, when they sent the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery to these States for adoption, the States were not de-

stroyed; they were indestructible. The States were ready for union. The soldiers were ready in kindness, in magnanimity, and forbearance. The people were ready with conciliation. The judicial department claimed no reprisals. No scaffolds were erected. Even Gerrit Smith and Greeley never asked that scaffolds should be erected. Nobody but the hyenas and other beasts, prowled about the grass-grown graves and charred ruins of the South, for reprisals and prey. (Applause.) The Executive Department was ready for union. Now I will tell you where the delay came from. Having done all that was required of them as near as they could, the South was ready for the Union—for civil, spiritual, and political fellowship—but at that time a scheme was broached in Congress, with the aid of the leaders of the Radical party, to get up a Reconstruction Committee to counteract by their secret caucuses the kindness and conciliation that were just being crystallized. The President had his plan, which was the plan of the Constitution. The old Romans used to say that for a retreating foe, they would build a bridge of gold, which was a wise old maxim. The question was, which was the best plan—the plan of the Constitution or not? The supremacy of the Constitution, or the supremacy of Congress? Now, in England Parliament is paramount to the Constitution, but in this country, Congress is elected under the organic law, and the great refinement of our civil polity consists in the fact that our Federal Government is restrained (or ought to be) in its exercise of power. The question is not what is best for soldiers or parties, or for the black, or white, or even General Grant, whose military worth I don't propose to contest for he has had partial success. I would not pluck one leaf of laurel from his martial brow. But the great question for our people to consider is what is best for our country. (Applause.) Now the Republican Convention at Chicago saw that there was trouble coming. I know that they make light of Governor Seymour's nomination, but they will perhaps, after November, be in the same condition as the little boy that stubbed his toe—they will feel better when it don't hurt. (Laughter.) Ohio voted 60,000 against striking out the word “white” from the Constitution. Pennsylvania voted against the Radicals, and other States from the Atlantic to the Pacific were flying from the Radical party, and they thought they would put something in their platform about conciliation and humanity. And what do you think it was? Why, being in-

terpreted, it meant that the South must knock at the door of the Union with black knuckles. (Laughter and applause.) Three or four States did not so knock, so those States are still held in subjection by the sword. It is to the interest of the whole country that we should not continue in our present position: don't you think so? Discontent brings laziness, unthrift, and crime, personal unsafety and social disorder. It is a constant menace to our peace, and a source of danger to the country. It may be said that the men of the South have no reason to be discontented. But it exists, and, as a good surgeon attends to his patient before he wastes time in finding out how he got hurt, so we should first cure the national ills. My judgment is that to cure this country we must go into the old Democratic *materia medica*. (Laughter and applause.) We want constitutional remedies. You can't do it by the sword. If Grant is not a civilian he can't deal with civil matters rightly. You don't go to a blacksmith to get your watch mended, nor to a silversmith to get your horse shod. (Roars of laughter.) And you don't go to a soldier when you want earnest, careful statesmanship, which this country needs. (Applause.) If you want the country cured, go to Horatio Seymour, of Oneida county. (Applause.) Lift the burdens of taxation, and you will gain contentment. Insure protection to the laborer—for the stimulus of industry is Governmental protection. Remember the maxim of Montesquieu, "While you put down the rebellion, you should save the rebels." The ægis of the Government should cover all men. How, then, are you to get rid of these troubles? It is time that you permitted the South to share the burden of taxation with you. You can't tell what you don't pay taxes on. How can you lessen the taxes unless you withdraw these suckers that are hanging on at the Treasury, these vampires that feed upon your liberty and your industry? "But," says the Republican friend, "the poor man don't pay taxes; only the rich pay taxes." Let us look at that a moment. When you hire a house of a man don't you suppose he puts his income tax in your rent?

A voice—"I bet you."

I know how Congress taxes your wages: by taxing everything that you buy with your wages—(applause)—I have seen it done, over and over. When they say they don't tax you they don't tell the—economical arrangement. (Laughter.) General Logan said the Democratic party would have to levy taxes. Very true; but they will levy less

of them. (Applause.) If Mr. Seymour is elected, we will get rid of the necessity of an army in the South, and that will save one expense. (Applause.) We will then get rid of at least \$100,000,000 taxes. (Applause.) We will make the Republican party responsible for the \$1,200,000,000 they have collected since July, 1863, over and above what went to pay the public debt, and both direct and indirect taxes, and ask them what became of the money. (Approbation.) General Logan says it has gone to liquidate the principal and pay the interest of the public debt. But, my friends, the public debt is increasing to-day, has been for months. (Cheers.) Where did the money go?

A Voice—"Into carpet-bags." (Roars of laughter.)

Mr. Cox—Well, they have a Freedmen's Bureau, down there. I had the honor, when in Congress, to make a speech against this freedmen's business. I did not think it the business of the Government to feed anybody—black or white—unless organized for war. But General Logan tells you that this vast eleemosynary institution only cost \$7,000,000, and collected \$60,000,000. How does he figure it out? Why, he says the Government collected that amount of tax on cotton. He counts in all the cotton left at the end of the war, what was taxed the time the law went into effect, and all the cotton raised since the war—(laughter)—and he puts it all down to the credit of the Freedmen's Bureau. (Renewed merriment.) This people that was so unthrift as not to be able to take care of itself is credited with contributing enough to support the United States Government. (Laughter.) The Freedmen's Bureau is a sort of miserable arrangement to feed men who have gone down there from the North, and who can't get an honest living there. (Laughter and applause.) They are like the two black crows who sat on a hill. (Laughing.) Now I wish to use General Logan with great respect, as I served with him in the Democratic party a good many years. (Laughter.) I know very well at the beginning of the war General Logan was not quite as strong for the North as he is now, or as I was then. This I tell you confidentially. (Applause and smiles.) The General was then a little disposed to help the other side. Judge Douglass went out there to Illinois to stop some men who were raising regiments for the South, and were not to be trusted. Well, General Logan is a gallant general and a good soldier. He says that the Democratic party, after forty years' control of the Government, is respon-

sible for the condition of affairs at the time the Republican party came into power. I have to say in answer to that, that during the last half of these forty years, General Logan was a member of the Democratic party, helping them to do this great wrong. (Great laughter). These men who make so much talk about the Democratic party generally turn out to be men who have left their party for their party's good (More laughter). I have heard the eloquent Logan again and again speak in Congress against embroiling this country by raising the Republican (or Radical) party to power. General Logan says that the same issues are before the people to-day as three years ago. But I tell you, gentlemen, things have progressed somewhat since then. We have got to look into the matter of taxes and debts. He looks at the debt, and what does he say about it? Why, that parties are divided about it. For myself, gentlemen, I never would consent to issue, for any purpose, this miserable, debauched currency, for which the Republicans are alone responsible (Approval). I hold that our legal tender is gold and silver. I like the chink of the old Democratic legal tender (Applause). If we are to have paper, let us make it worth as much as its face in gold sterling coin, and we shall be out of our trouble about the bond question. The policy of the Radical party is opposed to the fundamental principles of this Government. Before the war they tried to run the Government on half an idea (Laughing). They tried to concentrate the power of the executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the Government in one department—the Legislative. Look at the Reconstruction act of March 2, 1867—the supplementary supplement to a supplementary act (Merriment). They said to the South, "You have got to take military power or Congressional power—which will you have?" It was a pretty bad alternative—very much like the old darkey preacher's road—one led to destruction, and "de oder to damnation" (Peals of laughter). The Radicals have destroyed our constitutional mode of collecting private debts, substituting the military power. They have replaced municipal and State Governments by the sword, believing that the States were like Milton's angels, and the sword could go through them. They have set aside, by their legislation, the Magna Charta of the American people, and rights that have been enjoyed by our race for 800 years. And what is all this for? It is for negro suffrage and the perpetuation of African rule (Cries of "Yes,

yes!") It is to degrade the dignity of the ballot. It is to place us at the mercy of a balance of power consisting of the black vote. It is to disfranchise any one of the 2,000,000 Democratic voters of the North should he see fit to go South and dare refuse to swear to protect and defend the political equality of the blacks and whites. What do you think of that, my Republican friends? And they would make all this irrevocable. What a spectacle of a party of progress and civilization enacting that there shall be no change in the fundamental law! My impression is that the November election will overturn all this. General Logan bases his opposition to Frank Blair upon the pretence that Frank Blair means revolution. But, my friends, it is the revolution of the ballot-box, the revolution of law, the revolution that the Supreme Court would have secured if it had not been interfered with by a Radical Congress (Applause). It is the revolution that comes from the strain of the Radical party to keep the wrong in the ascendancy, and to break down right in this country (Applause and a voice "that's so.") They put a plank in their platform that the Northern States may regulate the suffrage for themselves, but that the Southern States shan't do it; and yet General Logan says the States are equal. Their policy is,

"Like the snow-flake on the river,
A moment *white*, then gone *forever*,"

(Laughter.)

General Logan said that his party was the party of law. But they have substituted trial by military commission for trial by jury; they have interfered with the Supreme Court; they have broken down State rights; they have repealed the laws controlling the currency, and destroyed constitutional guaranties. And they have the audacity to ask Irish votes in the face of a policy towards the South which is a counterpart of the treatment of Ireland by Great Britain (Applause).

Mr. Cox concluded with an earnest appeal to his audience to adopt the principles of law and justice, combined with mercy and conciliation, and counseled, as a panacea for our national ills, the election of Seymour and Blair. He was warmly greeted at the close.

Speech in Ninth Ward, New York City, on September 29th.

The Democracy of the Ninth Ward held an enthusiastic meeting at the corner of Bleecker and

Morton streets last evening, when Hon. S. S. Cox delivered the following address:

GENTLEMEN: I have been rarely repetitious in my speeches during the campaign. I have been so often reported that I have been compelled to seek new matter and fresh illustrations. In my humble way I have exhausted discussion growing out of the reconstruction laws, the constitutional relations of the States, negro rule, military power, taxation by external and internal measures, and the public debt and currency. But day unto day uttereth speech of fresh "outrages" by reason of Radical rule. Night unto night proclaimeth knowledge of our terrible fiscal situation. There is no limit to the discussion. The telegraph comes freighted with the burden of Southern crime and lawlessness. Each day there is a new budget of unpropitious news from the South. The black and white races are beginning to clinch for the struggle. There is no remedy in Radical rule. (Cheers.) The very cause of the trouble cannot cure. It aggravates. The unprosperous South—the South which had brains and bravery enough to hold this nation at bay for four years—after bowing to the Constitution, is abased before the groveling negro. Patient the white man is; skilled in political dialectics, he awaits, without yielding to the temptation to retaliate, until the just judgment of the people shall determine his situation. The troubles at New Orleans, in Texas, in Georgia—the alarm, the robberies, the threats, the secret societies, the secret arming and training, the appeals of demagogues—these are but the clouds which are gathering before the great tempest breaks. Why cannot the lightning in their black bosom be drawn harmlessly to the earth? Why may not the storm be avoided? Were not the Southern people content and allegiant when the war ended? Who is the responsible party? Is it not the party of Congress? They have claimed and wielded all power, controlling military, negro suffrage, States; overruling the administration, its vetoes, its amnesties, and its prudence. Whether these outrages and troubles are justifiable or not, they are the signs and proofs of incompetence and bad rule. The sign and proof of good rule is in the prosperity and tranquility of the people. What a failure in this regard is Radical policy! What a costly failure!

RADICALISM COSTLY.

In speaking of the cost of bad government it is hard to over-estimate. The cost is not confined to mere administration. It is

the daily loss and the constant hazard. It is the breaking up of enterprises and the paralysis of industries. It is the wanton waste of time. It is the waste of time; which, otherwise employed, would add to our values, and thus divide our burdens. One great trouble attending political discussion this year has been to obtain authentic accounts of our expenditures and taxes. Better pay more, if you can know what it is for, and what it is yet to pay, than to be paying all the time hopelessly in the dark. The people have a right to know the financial condition. Mr. Wells, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Sherman and others have "committed many a rape on a cloud of statistics." They have only mystified our situation. We knew we were paying largely. We know that the debt has been growing lately. We knew that some \$1,500,000,000 had been collected since July, 1865. We knew that our tax this year would be near \$400,000,000; but we did not know so authentically till yesterday how near to bankruptcy we were verging. Mr. Delmar, the official head of the Statistics of the Treasury, has given us the data. It is a startling disclosure. It shows the incompetency of Congress to master the financial situation. It shows that extravagance has held high carnival. (Cheers.) It is proof, beyond cavil, either that Congress *after* the election, will again put the people to the tax torture, manifold worse than ever, or that the Secretary of the Treasury, to save the credit of the nation meanwhile, must increase the debt by the issue of new bonds.

On the authority of official reports, I affirm now, what I affirmed while speaking in Maine, for I had these data unofficially then, that our total receipts the past three years are:

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| For 1865-6 | \$613,758,733 |
| For 1866-7 | 536,349,172 |
| For 1867-8 | 450,212,663 |
| Total..... | \$1,600,320,618 |

And our total expenditures:

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| For 1865-6 | \$574,477,103 |
| For 1866-7 | 392,414,281 |
| For 1867-8 | 414,913,604 |
| Total..... | \$1,383,834,993 |

Yet, will you believe it? With all these immense sums received, our debt is now growing! I stated before what has been controverted, that our appropriations for 1868-9 would be four hundred millions. Mr. Delmar gives me the authentic sum to be expended under this Congressional dictation. It is a little more than a million and a half less than my statement. It is \$398,317,183 95! Can you wonder that labor grows de-

spairing ; that the people groan ; that merchants sell less and people buy less ; that labor at even higher wages is not so remunerative as formerly ; that commerce and shipbuilding dies ; that the whole land is in peril of decay and waste, under these mortgages which Radicalism is now foreclosing around all our interests ? (Cheers.) Can you wonder, as the statist, Mr. Delmar, says, that if the Treasury endeavors to meet its current expenses this year, there will be a deficit at the end of the year of \$154,339,202 25 ! This must be raised by new taxes or new loans ! Mr. Bondholder ! new loans under such circumstances means the tumbling of your present prices of bonds ; tumbling, tumbling into some abyss, to what depth or into what chaos I do not undertake to say. Perhaps John Milton in one of his tractates, makes the picture—a sort of clear-obscure Rembrandt—of those who, aspiring to high dignity and rule by the distresses and servitude of their country—"After a shameful end in this life, shall be thrown eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell ; where under the despotic control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight forever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and downtrodden vassals of perdition." (Cheers.) If Seymour is not elected, and this policy of demagoguery and ruin goes on, your party and your bonds will be in a similar case. The policy did go on after the most earnest warning of Mr. McCulloch ; it will go on, in spite of all warnings, except the people give warning in November. Perhaps you will prefer, Mr. Congressmen, to tax more. Why did you so boastfully cut down the taxes ? Mr. Wells, in one of his reports, brags that, since the war, taxes have been reduced \$167,269,000. Suppose they have ; yet we have no relief ! Suppose they have ; only to be put on again—after the election. It was a dodge of the demagogue to save the credit of the party at the expense of the credit of the nation. (Cheers.) When we press these points home upon our opponents they chaunt the old ditty about the war and treason. This is a convenient avoidance of the issues.

AVOIDANCE OF ISSUES.

The true question is, what is best now ? The Republican argues,—what is best in the war ? We respond the war is over, and the issues are

pressing and new. They reply that the war is still flagrant. They ask for peace. By fanning the embers of old hates, almost burned into ashes, they would prevent the reception of a proper present policy. The Republican orators proceed on the false premise that the Democracy are rebels, because the first were formerly in rebellion and now in allegiance and with them. This, if true, is equally applicable to the Republican party. The House and Senate—not to speak of Southern legislatures—have radical rebels, reconstructed on their model. The bulk of the negroes helped rebellion soundly ; they assume, by some sort of *petitio principii*, that the Democracy were all rebels, and are yet, when that premise is the very thing to be proved. The Democracy assume and can prove that the dominant majority of the party are true and patriotic now and ever have been.

ARE DEMOCRATS REBELS ?

The gravamen of the charge against the Democracy is that they were and are unfaithful to the Union. It is very hard for a Northern Democrat to answer this with patience. If it be true that the Northern Democracy were untrue to their allegiance, then it is true that the party was unfaithful, for the Northern portion was the large majority. The Democracy, though distracted in its own bosom by the slavery agitations of 1844, 1848, 1852 and 1856, came into a common Convention at Charleston, in 1860. The old platform of non-intervention with domestic relations, was adopted, 165 to 138. By Democratic usage this was the law of our party. Alabama led the States south, into withdrawal. The chasm opened, but by no help from the majority of that Convention ; Douglas was nominated by the lawful two-thirds vote. A rival candidate divided our party. He was championed by Dix, Butler, and others. Douglas received the great majority of our party vote. He had 1,365,976 against 1,859,610 for Lincoln. Bell received 590,631, and Breckinridge 847,963. So that the expression of the Democracy of the nation was truly against the hot zealotry of the South. (Cheers.) In connection with the Bell vote, it was truly significant. In connection with the Bell vote, it was a majority of 98,997—nearly a hundred thousand Union majority against secession and its Northern ally, Republicanism. I charge, on the statement of a responsible Republican, that the allies of the Republicans were the secessionists. Mr. Greeley, said the "engineers of the re-

bellion desired and labored for the Republican triumph of 1860." And he is equally true to history when he adds:

"It was to this end that they forced through the Senate of that year the Jeff. Davis platform, whereby Mr. Douglas and his friends were virtually read out of the Democratic party. It was to this end that they deliberately and determinedly completed the overthrow of that party by bolting from the Charleston Convention and nominating Breckinridge and Lane against Douglas and Johnson. All through the canvass we Republicans recognized and treated the bolters as our virtual and powerful allies. And when, through their aid, we had elected Lincoln and Hamlin, our triumph was no where more generally or openly exulted over than in Charleston, the fountain and focus of the rebellion.

And yet these allies of the South, charge upon the Northern Democracy and their Union and Whig friends South, the crimes fostered with a view to help disunion. The assertion that Douglas, with nearly double the vote of Breckenridge, was read out of the party by bolters and seceders, is not a true statement, either in partisan parlance or ethical propriety. What happened when Lincoln became President of this large minority vote? War came! Did the Democracy of the nation flinch? (Cheers for McClellan.) Is it not a libel to say so? Is it not base to charge those who thus struggled with Douglas and Crittenden? The representatives of the Bell and Douglas vote, amounting to nearly two million, being a majority over the Lincoln vote, were the real Union men. In 1860-1, they sought to avert the war. (Cheers.) How they plead, how they labored, how they appealed to the rash South and the fanatic North, how, in the name of the majority of this nation, they thus appealed--is it not a part of the historic fame of the Democratic and old Whig leaders? (Cheers.) Peace conventions, compromises, Border-State influences, petitions, social and religious influences, and above all, the terrible apprehensions of civil war, gave emphasis to their appeals and vigor to their labors. All in vain! When war came, this same Democracy, represented by the majority of this patriotic party, rallied to the Union! (Cheers.) Is this denied? Call the roll of soldiers! Mr. Stanton reports that there were three millions on the army roll. Lincoln received only 1,850,610 votes. Where did the rest come from? Were all the warriors Republicans, and were all the Republicans warriors? (Laughter.) Was there not a majority of the regiments and officers Democratic? Who had the means to buy substitutes? Who were the sneaks from the army? Were they all Democrats? Who

were the brave brigadiers who conveniently held Willard's Hotel when action was apprehended? (Laughter.) Who made Dutch Gap canals, powder-boat explosions, and noise generally? (Laughter.) Were they all Democrats? Were there not many of them *wide-awake* to the sweet solace of home? (Laughter.) Guards of the hearthstones in the North. Were these all Democrats? If so, *even then* there must have been as many Democrats as Republicans in the war. The taxes to support the army were paid and are being paid equally by Democrats. It is simply monstrous and mean to say that the Democratic party, represented by the majorities, its leaders, or its tax-payers, were confederate with the rebellion. I dare the slanderer to his proof. If the moneyed classes number but 440,000, as Mr. Hine stated to the Labor Congress, and the rest of the adult males, which are numbered in all by him 4,000,000, are made up of men who live by wages and "middle men;" and if labor pays most of the taxes, and if it is true that the great body of the laboring classes are Democrats, is it not a fair inference that the great amount of taxation is paid by Democrats. (Cheers.) How execrable, then, is the lie that the Democrats have not sustained the Government. The men who thus slander their taxed neighbors, have not even the fairness or decency of Kit Burns, the rat-baiter, toward the innocent Water street missionaries; "As long," he says, "as long as they pays their money, I'll treat 'em square." (Laughter.) It takes a good deal of brass in the cheek and a good deal of music in the chin to perpetually slander the greatest number of American people, as unpatriotic and rebellious. What are the facts? If you cannot find them, Mr. Radical, I can. When the war broke out, the first regiments West and East came from Democratic localities. McClellan saved Western Virginia! (Cheers.) Frank Blair, now hounded, as if a traitor, was refused a vote at the polls in the very State he saved. Slocum, Franklin, the Porters, Steadman, and the Grand Army of Democratic generals, are examples. (Cheers.) Oh! but it is said: "The body of the Democratic people were right and sound but their political leaders were not." This is a bold falsehood. Every Democratic State Convention in the North, by resolution, stood by the Government, when war became flagrant. It will not do to say, because the Democracy desired peace, that they were opposed to fighting for the Union and the Government.

What was the object of the war? Was it carried on for its carnage and devastations? No one but a demon or a brute would say so. Is it not waged to secure an object? Is not peace the end proposed? Was not peace and Union our object? If, therefore, the Democracy fought, they at the same time proposed Union and peace. It is simply illogical, base, and cowardly to say that the Democrats opposed the war, because it ever sought to end it in the interest of peace and Union.

I have referred to the resolutions of our State Conventions. I refer to the messages of all the Democratic Governors we had during the war—Parker, of New Jersey, and Seymour. (Cheers.) They answered all calls. They were the most prompt. Their record is as stainless as crystal. Now go to the record of the first Congress after the war began! Was there ever in history a party so maligned—an opposition party, opposed to the canons of the Republicans, solicitous of peace and Union, and yet, when war came, rallying in almost unbroken phalanx, and forgetting all rivalry and animosity, to help its adversary in the struggle for the Government. (Cheers.) I have the journal of the extra session beginning 4th of July, 1861. It was called by Mr. Lincoln in no spirit of hostility to the South. His message was a plea to the people and their representatives for a settled policy of war. He felt that there was uneasiness in the public mind as to the object of the war. He asked "candid men" to heed him, "as to the course of the Government toward the Southern States, after the rebellion shall have been suppressed." I quote the very *Italics* of his message. *After!* "It will be the purpose of the executive," said he, "then as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and laws." He referred to his inaugural as to his recognition of the "rights of the States and the people under the Constitution." He desired this instrument to be administered as it was by the men who made it. "It is not perceived that there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sense of these terms." What a commentary is the last three years of military rule and negro extravaganzas on this message. I was a member of that Congress. I frequently conferred with the President. I believed he meant that the war should not be for the conquest, or in other words, the spoliation, and dismemberment and degradation of the States. So we all voted. There were extreme men in the first

Congress on both sides, but only two or three on the Democratic side. The first declaration, on the 15th of July, pertinent to the issue, was offered by General McClelland—now fighting for Seymour in Illinois. (Cheers.) Its preamble denounced the Southern aggressive and iniquitous war. It pledged us by resolution to vote any amount of money and any number of men for the restoration of Federal authority (Cheers.) See the eighty-sixth page of the journal, and you will find only five nays against it. Conkling and Corning were side by side; Logan and Lovejoy; English and Fenton—and all through the roll—Democrats and Republicans as one! In a week afterwards Mr. Crittenden called me to him, in front of the Clerk's desk, and read his famous resolutions. My first words to him were—after reading it in manuscript: "That the resolution did not quite tell the whole truth when it said that 'the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States.'" I said: "Mr. Crittenden, can't you insert Northern disunionists also?" (Cheers.) He replied: "If I do I cannot get a unanimous vote, and that is so desirable." I said: "Very well; it has my concurrence—unanimity is the great object." The Democracy was ready to yield much, nay, to yield their very organization to the adversary, to secure the object of the war. On the vote for the preamble there is recorded but two dissentients—who were Democrats; and on the vote to sustain the second branch of the resolution, that the war was not for conquest, but for the restoration of the States—now so familiar—there were but two dissentients—Potter and Riddle—both Republicans. For myself, I never had a desire or a thought not in harmony with these resolutions. On the 29th of July I offered a resolution for "undiminished and increased exertion by army and navy to sustain the stability and integrity of the Government," and at the same time sought to end the war by national methods in the interests of the Union of all the States. This same Congress never dreamed of regarding the States as out, because seceding and rebellious. By the journal, page 203, you will see the direct tax law of twenty millions, on the States—all—as States! All this farrago of reconstruction is an after thought. It is born of partisan and personal ambition. It is the risk Radicalism took for party success. That risk is the country's ruin. It is anarchy, disorder, and bankruptcy. During this extraor-

inary Congress, no man was so efficient, far-sighted, and sagacious as Frank Blair. He was at the head of the Military Committee. He reported the first bill for five hundred millions of money, and 500,000 men to suppress the rebellion, but not for conquest. That bill was accepted by all. From that time forward—until the war was perverted from its original and declared purpose, there was no more hearty or more skillful aid given than by the Democracy. What was feared then—what was apprehended in 1864, at Chicago—is now accomplished. The war so gallantly fought, is resultless in its one great object. The Union is still severed. Concord, equality, and content are absent. What is in their place? What is *not*? Who is responsible? The people will answer in November, by the election of Seymour and Blair. This Union may be kept apart by negro and military power, but the interests of trade, the love of home and of liberty, the anxiety for prosperity, the burdens of taxation unequal and unjust, and the common national glory, demand the Union as made by the God of Nature, and as it came under his direction to the founders of our system. The Union is of God! Ye Radicals cannot overthrow it—lest, haply, ye be found to fight against God! (Applause)

Speech at Brunswick, Maine.

THE SHIPBUILDERS' INDICTMENT OF RADICALISM.

Hon. S. S. Cox, of New York, addressed a mass meeting of the Democracy at Brunswick, Me., on the 3d September. Hon. A. B. Thompson presided. Mr. Cox's speech was as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. S. S. COX.

CITIZENS OF BRUNSWICK: I thank you for this enthusiastic reception to a stranger. I am introduced to you as from Ohio. I am a native of an inland State; but now, however, I come to you from the commercial emporium, New York, my home. What I say to you about commerce is of equal interest to all. It is your mission to build ships, which once bore the produce of the West, though controlled by the capital of the East. Years ago, as the representative of a farmer people, I was forward in contending for the interests of commerce.

Commerce was the select handmaiden of agriculture. Remembering the resounding anthem of Wordsworth:

"Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of your eternal sea,"—

And knowing how steam and lightning had abolished space—and that we "could in a moment travel thither with our thoughts and produce"—I strove in Congress and through international influences to give more freedom to trade and to the seas; to abolish the piratical practices yet prevalent among nations, with reference to a mercantile marine, as well as to abolish the robberies of land pirates by exactions at home; to give to free ships free goods; to limit nations in their belligerent rights, and to protect neutrals, to stop blockades which interfered with trade not contraband; to so control the calamities of war that the interchanges of the nation might go on unaffected by war; and to narrow its sphere of cruelty and spoliation, so that conflicts upon the sea should only be a duello between government ships of war, and not to affect vessels and property of private persons engaged in sailing, steaming, or trading. The United States once had the right to give laws to the sea. Its first treaties liberalized commerce. Its enterprise commanded advantages. Was there ever a people better fitted for sea-faring? Was not the New World born of commercial adventure? Were not Columbus and his caravel—Isabella and her jewels—the very romance of our continent? Do not the Americans bear the name of him who sailed hither by the golden cross? Did not Hudson immortalize the river which, in the genius of Irving, immortalizes Hudson? Your own State is the offspring of the most daring sea adventures. From 1602 until 1820, when Massachusetts gave you to the Union, your State, its lands and rights—political and proprietary—have been matters of commerce—French and English, Catholic and Protestant. Puritan and Cavalier, Republican and Royalist, have contended for the mastery of your coasts. Thanks to the Federal principle, you became one of the United States, with all the rights, equality, and dignity of a State unimpaired. (Cheers.) I mistake the pioneer spirit of your people if you are not ready now to yield to others the same equality. (Cheers.) Under this system you have grown stately as one of your lofty pines, free as the homeless winds, and as fearless as the sportive waves which

lave your shores. Nor do I underrate the influences of commerce on States. The Phœnician, Roman, Grecian, Venetian, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and English advancement is traceable to commerce. Christianity is spread with its wings. Loyola sought Jerusalem, and Judson sought India upon the bosom of the sea. I do not exaggerate its importance. But my duty will not be done till I show you the facts and causes of its decadence. I confine my remarks to this one subject. It is a subject that is not only of intense interest to this Venice of America, that sits enthroned upon seas that sparkle in the bright glory of a thousand noble bays and ports, but of the first importance to the whole people of this country, from the Passamaquoddy to Alaska. Of all the nations in the world, the United States possesses the most ample facilities for commerce. Of all the leading nations of the world, her commerce is the most limited and unprofitable. There is no need to explore the El Dorado for its minute tribute of golden sands, or push colonization to the poles in search of a few tons of Arctic coal. The envied gold of California is a bauble; the precious furs in Onelaska's wilds are a paltry prize; nay, the entire wealth of the Pacific shores fades into insignificance when compared with the riches that lie at our very doors, and that may be derived from that *commerce* which was once our country's pride, and the main source of her envied prosperity, and to which the State of Maine, in her capacity as the builder of those magnificent vessels in which this commerce was borne, so powerfully contributed. On the Atlantic coast we have six thousand eight hundred and sixty-one miles of shore-line, including bays, sounds, etc. On the Pacific coast, without counting Alaska, we have two thousand two hundred and eighty-one miles. On the Gulf we have three thousand four hundred and sixty-seven miles. And on the Lakes under our sovereignty, we have three thousand six hundred and twenty miles. This makes a total of sixteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine miles of shore line. It is a line equal in length to over two-thirds the circumference of the globe! If to this be added nine thousand two hundred and forty-seven miles of shore line to the islands on our coast, and eleven thousand two hundred and thirteen miles of river shore line to the head of tide water, we have a grand total of thirty-six thousand six hundred and eighty-nine miles of

shore—a line that, if perfectly straight, would extend nearly twice around the globe! Besides this, we have thirty-six thousand eight hundred and fifty-four miles of river navigation, and a chain of gigantic lakes—inland seas—that extends from the St. Lawrence to the slope of the Rocky Mountains. And as if these immense facilities for water carriage were not enough, the hands of our busy forefathers have constructed for us four thousand two hundred and sixty-six miles of canal navigation. These are our in calculable facilities for commerce. These are the endless channels of employment for shipping and for the commerce of the United States. And yet, with shame and lamentation I confess that our commerce does not amount to *one half* of that of the little kingdom of Great Britain! Is it because our shores have no harbors and our rivers are too shallow for navigation? We have more harbors to every mile of coast line than any country in the world. Our rivers are the broadest and deepest, and have but a single rival elsewhere—where rolls the boundless Amazon. The State of Maine alone has more harbors than the kingdom of Great Britain five times over. You may paddle a steamship from Pittsburg in Pennsylvania to the mouth of the Mississippi, a distance of 2,000 miles, without getting out of fresh water. Is it because we have no material for building ships? Have we not the skill? Do we suffer for want of capital or lack of workmen? We have the finest timber in the world, and the most of it. Indeed the export of lumber to other, and in this respect, less favored countries, is one of the few industries which the wretched, tinkering, legislation of the day has left us. Surely if Radicalism has left us any timber in our forests, there could be no better evidence of its luxuriant growth! (Laughter.) The pine forests of Maine are one of the boasts of our country. The long deep planking is brought from the Susquehanna; the stout oak knees and frames are hewn on the eastern shores of Maryland, or felled in the silence of the Dismal Swamp. God has given us all the things we need for shipbuilding. The hands of a horde of petty tyrants and conceited economists have swept them away. No shipwrights that ever handled an adze can compare with the skilled sons of this State. Their ships were the envy of foreigners, and the boast of every American. They were at once models of grace and symmetry. They were wonders of speed and strength. Not only did these noble ships at one time carry the main portion of the commerce of

the Christian world, but they were sought after and purchased to such an extent that their building and sale to foreign flags was once a large and profitable business. As for capital and workmen, what are the facts? We have millions and millions of money going a begging for secure investment at four per cent. per annum. Why is it temporarily withheld from honest employment? Is it in dread of that financial crash which the measures of that party now in power has rendered so imminent that we know not what calamity the morrow will bring forth? Meanwhile our workmen stand idly by, bereft of employment altogether, or are compelled to abandon their proud and honest calling for a precarious living in some other less remunerative and less congenial vocation. I quote from the official report of one who, more, perhaps, than any other man in this broad country, is noted for an entire absence of poetry of passion in his writings, and whose life has been spent in the collection and preparation of facts. I allude to the present able and efficient Director of the United States Bureau of Statistics, Hon. Alexander Delmar. Surely here is a source from which no coloring is to be apprehended; and yet this officer, in an official report to the Government on the condition of the shipbuilding interest, used this graphic language in reference to a visit he made in the prosecution of his official duty, to the ship-yard of Donald McKay, in East Boston:

His once famous ship-yard was entirely deserted; not a sound was to be heard; not a single person beside Mr. McKay himself was there. No building materials were to be seen; no vessel was being built; nor had one been in course of construction for over a year. Mr. McKay stated that he had fifteen keels down at a time; now he had not one. There was no sale for American vessels other than the small craft employed in the coasting trade—a class of vessels he did not construct. First-class ships he formerly built and equipped ready for sea, from \$65 to \$70 per ton; now the same vessels would cost \$110 per ton; an investment which would afford no profit to the merchants who employ such vessels. The merchants could do better by investing in government securities, which yield six per cent. in gold, on currency investments, which are exempted from taxation. In the British provinces the same class of vessels can now be built and equipped ready for sea for \$40 to \$50 gold per ton—about half; and this, too, after buying the oak timber in Maryland. If this state of affairs continue a few years longer, the nation would not own a vessel which could be used as a war transport in the event of a war. All our cotton carrying is done by foreign vessels. Our tonnage statistics for the year in part comprise vessels engaged in coasting and inland navigation—very few sea-going ships. As to ship building generally, it is the same with others as with himself. The industry is at a stand still. Those who were engaged in it have gone into something else. He himself was no longer engaged in building vessels, but in carrying freight and passengers in the coasting trade. He was running two steamers to Charleston. He could not sell them, and had nothing else to do but run them. As for his

workmen they had gone into other trades—some into speculation. He mentioned an enterprising shipsmith who had already become an active stock speculator. The year of 1854-55 was the best year of active shipbuilding in the United States—say the fourteen months following the beginning of 1854. From 1855 it declined somewhat during 1857, 1858, and 1859. Then it went up again, until in 1861 it touched almost as high a point as it had in 1854-55. During 1862 it declined again, but not so much as it had during 1857, 1858, and 1859. In 1863 it recovered its former level once more, but soon afterwards sank down much lower than in 1857 and 1859, and now in 1866 it was almost at an end.

The same evidence comes from New York City. The great ship-yard of Mr. Webb is closed. Our cotton goes out—all of it—under foreign flags. Our merchants are sending and receiving most of our produce by steam, and we have no foreign steam marine under our flag. Commerce is dead. We know the fact. It would be idle to lament, unless we are active to remedy. What better evidence than this is wanted of the decay of an interest that was once among the foremost of this country? But let us now follow this officer in his progress through the ship-yards of the country. Then, having established the fact of this decadence, let us trace it to its cause. Evidence of Edward S. Tobey, shipowner, Boston:

Mr. Tobey stated that there was no doubt about the decadence of shipbuilding. Prior to the war, he said, we could compete with all nations in constructing vessels; materials were more plentiful here, and we had the reputation, and still have it, of being best skilled in this industry. But the heavy taxation to which we had been subjected has caused this once most important interest to decline. Mr. Tobey expressed the opinion "that a remedy can be provided for this state of affairs by legislation."

Evidence of Sylvanus C. Blanchard, shipbuilder, Yarmouth.

Shipbuilding, as an industry, was clearly on the decline, and it required but a short time longer to see it entirely fade away. The reason of this was the high taxes. If by another year, (this was in the fall of 1866,) Government afforded no relief, he would not build another ship, but would go out of the business entirely.

Evidence of Joseph W. Dyer, shipbuilder, Portland.

Mr. Dyer has no vessels on the stocks. His shipyard is entirely deserted. No stock of building materials on hand. The portion of his capital invested in shiplofts and shipyard is lying idle; and so long as shipbuilding is at its present low ebb it will have to continue to lie idle. He stated that shipbuilding was all over for the present. Never was so idle since he was fourteen years of age as he was now; has always been accustomed to build a couple of vessels a year, but was now lying, so to say, on the flat of his back.

Evidence of G. W. Lawrence, shipbuilder, Portland.

Mr. Lawrence had but one large ship on the stocks, and this one he was in no hurry to finish, as there was nothing for her to do. The shipbuilding industry is utterly dead.

Evidence of William and James Drummond, shipbuilders, Bath.

Shipbuilding is at a stand still. Have two ships that have been going for two years, and have not realized the bare interest on the capital invested in them. There is not a keel laid in Bath this year; (this was in the fall of 1866.) and Bath is known to be the principal shipbuilding district in the United States. Our foreign carrying trade is at an end. One of the greatest industries of this country, and one of its greatest glories in times past, consisted in the carrying trade, and the vessels engaged in it. These vessels were to be seen engaged in the trade in all parts of the world. There are now seen no more. Both as a matter of national pride and of great national moneyed interest, care should be taken that this enormous industry should revive.

Evidence of George F. Patten, shipbuilder. Bath.

Mr. Patten stated that the business of ship-building was almost at an end. There was nothing doing; the business was virtually ended. There was no demand for vessels, because the carrying trade was being done by other nations who were free to buy their ships were they pleased.

Evidence of E. and A. Sewell, shipbuilders, Bath.

Ship building is in a bad way; business very dull. One of the partners drew a gloomy picture of the state of the industry.

Evidence of Captain N. L. Thompson, shipbuilder, Kennebunk.

He spoke of the sore necessities of the ship-building trade. He wanted no bounties and no favors from the Government, but a lowering of the duties on iron, and the other principal materials that entered into the construction of a vessel.

Evidence of Joseph Titcombe, shipbuilder, Kennebunk.

The building of first-class vessels was at a standstill, and the knowledge of the art would pass away unless the great pressure of taxation which now exists is mitigated. It is a pity that the great carrying trade of the ocean should not be participated in by the United States. She was once the principal nation engaged in this lucrative business, but it has slowly, and within the past three years rapidly, fallen into other hands.

Mr. Sampson, of East Boston, Mr. Laskey, of East Boston, Messrs. McKay and Alden, of East Boston, Mr. Townsend, of East Boston, John Taylor, of East Boston, Curtiss and Tilden, of East Boston, and a large number of others, including W. H. Webb, and Webb & Bell, Lawrence & Foulk, J. Simonson, T. F. Rowland, and E. S. Whitlock, of New York, all of them practical ship-builders, give evidence to the same state of facts, which since this evidence was taken, has grown still worse. The industry is dead; and the cause is inordinate duties, high taxes. This is the common story from all. Thousands of our best mechanics are thrown out of employment, while the commerce of the seas is increasing with tremendous strides, and the outside

world is calling for more ships in which to carry its commerce. Great Britain has increased her tonnage from a little over 4,000,000 in 1860 to 9,000,000 in 1868. France has grown from a million and a half to three millions. The United States, which in the former year boasted a tonnage of over 5,353,868, can now scarcely show 3,000,000, or less than we possessed in 1848! Now let us see what this dead interest was worth to us. According to our official statement of the Treasury Department, there was sold to foreigners from the year 1828 to the year 1867 inclusive: Merchant vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 1,387,752, equal to an annual average of 34,604 tons. The total value of these vessels sold was at \$40 gold per ton, \$55,510,080—equal to any annual average of \$1,387,753, fully one-fifth of which was profit, and mostly to the State of Maine. (Cheers.) According to another official statement on the subject, the freight and passenger receipts of our foreign shipping alone, were in 1868, nearly thirty-four million dollars gold. In 1868 this had fallen to a little over seventeen million dollars gold—or one-half; a clear loss of the remainder, and this, too, with enhanced prices. The earning of our coasting vessels, about forty million dollars a year, had not decreased, the Navigation Act excluding all foreign competition in this trade, and compelling the shippers to pay whatever freight the ship-owner was obliged to demand. (A voice, "that's so.") But see the effect of this mad restriction! The cotton merchant of the South, the grain merchant of the West, the beef and pork packers, the naval store and lumber merchants, who are thus compelled to pay inordinate freights, either charge them indirectly in the prices of the commodities which in some way or another we have to buy and consume; or finding that the high price of coasting and river and lake freight makes it as cheap for them to ship by railroad, prefer the roads. The result is the roads carry freight that might otherwise come cheaper by water, and consequently you have to pay for flour fifteen dollars a barrel, and for cotton thirty cents a pound; while nobody is the gainer by it. The carrying trade remains depressed, and the railroads, through ruinous competition, fail to pay their dividends. To trace these consequences still further would take up too much time; but we can see them in neglected road-beds, and rotten vessels, and fatal accidents, and loss of life by sea and land. Look at this comparison of prices before and

since the war. Tell me how it is possible, under this ruinous system of taxation, and still more ruinous system of false currency, to revive an industry that was once worth seventy-five millions a year in earnings, and half a million more in profit on sales to foreigners, while its agency furnished us with cheap food, cheap clothing, and cheap materials with which to build. Look at the following comparison of prices before and since the war :

| | <i>Before.</i> <i>Gold at par.</i> | <i>Since.</i> <i>Gold at 140</i> |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Timber, per ton..... | \$ 9 00 | \$ 17 00 |
| Oak plank, per ton..... | 40 00 | 74 00 |
| Deck planking. | 20 00 | 55 00 |
| Ships built and equipped, ready for sea, per ton... | 60 00 | 100 00 |
| Iron, per pound..... | 02½ | 05½ |
| Metal, per pound. | 20 | 38 |
| Paints, per pound..... | 03 | 17 |

Sails and rigging now cost about three times as much as before the war, and many small articles of ship furniture four and five times as much. To build a large ship that will cost say \$96,650—I am now quoting an actual instance, that of a vessel that measured 1,327 tons, new measurement)—your wood materials will cost you \$26,950; your iron, \$12,400, your composition and yellow metal, \$2,000; your cordage \$11,000; your other materials, \$5,000; your labor \$25,000; your other expenses, \$3,400, and your business charges, \$10,800. I have the details. I will not read, but print them :

Estimate, exhibiting the total cost of a Maine-built ship of 1,327 tons, new measurement, or 1, 223 tons, old measurement.

WOOD MATERIAL.

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| White oak timber, 600 tons, for frame ceiling, and beams. | \$12,000 |
| White oak plank, 82,000 feet. | 4,000 |
| Freight on timber. | 1,600 |
| Surveyor's fees. | 150 |
| Hard wood, 23,000 feet. | 700 |
| Spruce lumber or lower deck, 21,000. feet. | 400 |
| Pine lumber, 20,000 feet. | 1,000 |
| Spars. | 1,400 |
| Pine decking, 55,000 feet. | 1,700 |
| White oak and locust trunnels. | 1,000 |
| Norway carlins, 12,000. | 400 |
| Spruce plank and cross-bands, 27,000 | 500 |
| Hackmatack knees, and planing same | 1,800 |
| Black walnut and cherry lumber. | 100 |
| Total. | \$26,950 |

IRON.

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Cast iron. | 400 |
| Common and refined English iron for fastening ship. | 7,500 |
| Chains and anchors and small chains | 4,500 |
| Total. | \$12,400 |

LABOR.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Carpenters' and fasteners' labor. | 14,000 |
| Joiners' labor. | 4,000 |
| Blacksmiths' | 1,700 |
| Painters' | 500 |
| Spar-makers' | 750 |
| Riggers' | 850 |
| Sail-makers' | 400 |
| Caulkers' | 1,300 |
| Carvers' | 300 |
| Watchmen during building. | 350 |
| Rafting and gondolaing. | 100 |
| Trucking. | 1,00 |
| Ox labor; hauling and hoisting. | 750 |
| Total. | \$25,100 |

TEXTILE MATERIALS.

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cordage, bolt rope, &c. | \$400 |
| Hemp and Manilla. | 6,500 |
| Oakum. | 800 |
| Duck. | 3,300 |
| Total. | \$11,000 |

OTHER MATERIALS

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Salt (for preserving timbers). | 1,000 |
| Paints, oils, and glass. | 800 |
| Blocks. | 1,000 |
| Capstans. | 300 |
| Pumps. | 400 |
| Binnacle and compasses. | 150 |
| Three boats. | 300 |
| Water tanks. | 400 |
| Cabin furniture (including bedding) | 500 |
| Crockery. | 150 |
| Total. | \$5,000 |

OTHER EXPENSES.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| Machinists' bill. | \$700 |
| Plumbers's bill, stock and work. | 1,000 |
| Ship chandler' bill. | 1,700 |
| Total. | \$3,400 |

BUSINESS CHARGES.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Taxes—internal revenue taxes on spars, and sails..... | \$1,500 |
| County, State, and Corporation taxes | 600 |
| Builder's commission, (the usual charge \$3 to \$5 per ton,) for use of yard, for personal superintendence &c. | 4,000 |
| Interest account..... | 3,000 |
| Sundry small bills..... | 1,700 |
| Total | <u>\$10,800</u> |

Now let us see where the rub is! The cost of the Government in this year of peace is over 400 million dollars, of which no less than 130 million in gold goes to pay the interest on the public debt, and 130 millions more to keep a standing army in the Southern States, and feed a parcel of lazy freedmen from the Freedman's Bureau. Do you know what 260 millions amount to? 260 millions will buy the whole animal crop of this country. It will feed every living soul within it on the staff of life for a year. 260 millions will build several railroads from here to the Pacific. It will buy all the shipping of the country, and even then will leave a few odd millions for "contingent expenses," pocket-knives, \$25 gold pens, mileage, &c. Now this 400 millions of expenditures has to be met by taxation. Of this taxation nearly half is levied at the Custom House. The timber that builds the ship and furnishes her, is taxed 20 per cent. The iron bolts and chains, the nails, screws, spikes, anchors, cables, straps and rings, are taxed from 80 to 120 per cent. The sheathing metal pays $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb. The paints pay 3 cents per pound, and even the putty is taxed a cent and a half. The ropes pay from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, and the sail duck 30 per cent, while the very salt to stow between the timbers pays 18 cents per hundred pounds, which is over one hundred per cent. ad valorem; and many other articles from two to three times their entire value. Remember all this is paid in gold. Where does this money come from? From the shippers who pay the heavy freights. Who reimburses the shippers? The people who consume the freights. Where does this money go? To support an army and a Freedman's Bureau, and a horde of official panderers and sharpers who absorb the people's money; supporting the soup ladle for the benefit of the negro who is smart enough to rule and vote, but not smart enough to earn a living without your aid. (Cheers and

laughter.) Four hundred millions of dollars are every year taken from the people to support a Government that eight years ago cost but forty-one millions per annum or one tenth the amount. The taking of this four hundred millions enhances the price of everything we eat, drink, wear, and use. It stops the wheels of industry. It entirely destroys an interest (ship-building) that formerly yielded a gross income to the nation of seventy-five millions per annum, besides a large annual profit to this State in the building of ships. It has ruined our export trade to South America, and the West and East Indies. It has driven our best business men from legitimate callings to gambling on the stock exchange. It has locked up most of the available capital in the country, reduced our best workmen to distress, and discouraged all classes of honest men, who with cramped means and no provision for to-morrow, look on with sullen discontent, while the parasites and swindlers of the hour sweep by in gay carriages, and run riot in extravagance and dissipation. To give you an idea of the extent to which our trade has passed out of our hands, I state that eighteen years ago (in 1850) our imports amounted to \$178,138,318 per annum, of which but \$38,481,275, or about one-fifth, was carried in foreign vessels, and the remainder in American vessels; while in 1867, last year, when our imports amounted to \$417,831,571, nearly three-fourths, or \$300,622,035, was carried in foreign vessels, and only \$117,209,536 in American vessels. The same proportions hold good with respect to the export trade. Not only this, but the trade itself has fallen off, and reduced national profits by millions of dollars, while it has curtailed the occupations of the people, and left them fewer means of livelihood to choose from. All this is directly traceable to the false and ruinous legislation of the day. In 1860 our domestic exports amounted to 372 millions in gold; in 1867, they had fallen to 334 millions gold, a decline of 39 millions, or over 10 per cent. During the same period the domestic exports of the United Kingdom had increased 237 million dollars, or 30 per cent., and those of France 226 millions or 43 per cent. In other words, while we have gone back 10, they have gone forward respectively 30 and 43! In 1860 we sent 196 millions of exports to Great Britain; last year we sent but 183 millions. In 1860 we sent 59 millions of exports to France; last year but 34 millions. In 1860 we sent 18 millions to British North America; last year but 15 millions. To Cuba we sent eleven millions;

last year but ten. To Brazil the same, and so on all through the list of countries from A to Z.

In 1860 our import trade amounted to as much as it did this year, and with the exception of the imports from great Britain and Canada, that trade was greater than it is now with every foreign country that deals with us. The imports from Brazil amounted to twenty-one millions; they have dropped to sixteen; from France they were forty-three millions; they have dropped to thirty; from China they were thirteen millions; they have dropped to eleven; from the British East Indies they were ten millions; they have dropped to seven; and so on all through the list. I quote sums always in gold, so that there can be no dispute about the comparisons. The trade of the other leading nations of the world has meanwhile, advanced with giant strides. Do you ask the cause of this decadence? I reply taxation, *taxation*, TAXATION. (Cheers.) Last year no less than \$31,929,522, nearly \$32,000,000 in gold was levied on sugar and molasses alone. The sworn value of the same was \$46,343,123, so that the duties amounted to three-fourths as much as the value; it was nearly doubling the price of the article to the consumer. When it is remembered that we annually import for consumption 1,000,000,000 pounds of sugar and 50,000,000 gallons of molasses, the fearful nature of this burden can be appreciated. On tea a duty of 25 cents per pound in gold is levied, as much again as the average value per pound of the tea on entry. From this source alone the sum of \$8,292,425 was derived. From coffee \$7,982,248; so that on those three articles tea, sugar, and coffee, the enormous sum of \$48,204,195, nearly \$50,000,000 in gold was obtained. When you recollect that these articles are mainly consumed by the masses, you will understand who pays for the burdens, and why the purchase of tea, sugar, and coffee, runs away with half of a poor man's income.

TRADE WITH CANADA FOR 1866 AND 1867.

| | Imports from Canada. | Exports to Canada. |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1866 | \$46,199,470 | \$12,104,647 |
| 1867 | 26,397,867 | 9,719,261 |

The figures are still in gold value, and are taken from the official accounts of the Treasury Department. They show that in 1866, the last year of the Reciprocity Treaty, we did business with Canada to the extent of \$58,304,084 per annum, and that when that treaty was

abrogated, this annual trade fell to \$36,117,124; over twenty-two millions lost in a single year. This twenty-two millions of traffic was principally lost to the people of Maine, across whose borders the trade with Canada is, or rather was, mainly done. The Reciprocity Treaty, was abrogated in order to keep intact the system of extortionate taxation maintained by the Republican party three years after the close of the war; to provide for a standing army, a Freedman's Bureau, and to perpetuate their lease of power. One more significant fact and I have done. From the organization of the government of the United States in 1789, to the breaking out of the civil war in 1861, the cost of the public service was \$1,781,375,368. I say nothing of the four years of war, the enormous expenditures it entailed, and the tremendous debt which wasteful contracts and bad financial management have bequeathed to us. I will merely mention the fact that the public service since the close of the war in 1865, has cost \$1,569,236,380, as follows:

| TRADE EXPENDITURES SINCE CLOSE OF WAR. | |
|--|---------------------|
| PERIOD. | PEACE EXPENDITURES. |
| 1865, quarter ending June 30th | \$322,578,245 |
| Year ending June 30 '66 | 520,950,940 |
| Year ending June 30th, '67 | 344,729,129 |
| Year ending June 30th, '68 | 379,178,066 |
| Total | \$1,569,236,380 |

So that the extravagant expenditures during the past three years of peace nearly equal those from the entire period from 1789 to 1861, which embraces 72 years of peace and war, including the Revolutionary war, that of 1812, the war with the Barbary powers, the many Indian wars, and the Mexican war. And now, people of Maine! Your shipbuilding destroyed, your commerce annihilated, and every thing you consume taxed to the hilt, to support a set of abandoned and shameless politicians; let me tell you what I regard as the only remedy for this state of affairs, a remedy that, if not applied at once, will lead you to poverty and despair—the victims of treachery, and the condemned tools of villainous design. Your remedy is the support of the Democracy. You should be just to others: Give to other States the benefits you claim. By the boon which you received from the Union in 1820, I implore you to be just to your sister States. Degrade them not by insulting conditions of Union. Preserve for yourselves, if not for them, the dignity of acceding States. I am a Republican, and I ask you to

recognize their equality. I am a Democrat, I ask no degradation of any State, community, or race. I am an American, I ask you to enhance our common glory. I am a student of economy, I ask you to reform our ruinous system. I would be a Christian—I ask you to receive from the fallen, the fruit of repentance, and to aid them in building again their old altars and renewing again their old good will—to add more links in the golden chain of human love, whose “upper end to highest heaven is knit.” Be not scared by the ugly visors which Hate puts on to frighten you from your duty. We have had enough of hate. Bestir yourselves and the nightmare is ended. We want no more revenges and reprisals. Let us have the grace of civil discipline and the order established by our fathers. “Then all other things will be added unto you—”

“Your favored barks shall glide
Safe o’er the surges of the foamy sea.”

[Mr Cox concluded with a review of the policies of the Republican Congress against “reconstructing” our shipping; and their conduct in reconstructing States. He went over the negro and carpet-bag proceedings at length, and was interrupted with applause throughout. He concluded thus:]

The future will be made luminous by Democratic success, for it will be our pride to cherish all that makes up the greatness and glory of our nation! (Cheers.) For seven years the Democracy have been down. Trifles float, valuables sink, in the shipwreck of the State. Bad weather shakes the good fruit and leaves the bad. Better seasons will come. Our victories are already proclaimed from Connecticut to Oregon. Let Radicals rave. The boiler is safest when blowing off steam. We are used to their loud reproaches. They cannot turn your thoughts from your families and your interests. Shall we hear from you on the second Tuesday that you are redeemed from your prejudices and thralldom, that you have declared for that peace which is repose and not terror; for that order which comes from a willing and not a desperate people. Can you hesitate? Did Cicero deliberate when Cataline was at the gates? Did Mirabeau deliberate when the people rose in their might? Your property, your life, your business by which you live—all are at stake. You cannot deliberate, men of Maine. Will you give to radicalism another carnival of four years?

It is said of the nurse of Caligula that she moistened her nipples with blood, to make the embryo tyrant take a better hold. Do you wish to play the part of nurse to the bloody Hates of our time. Already a war of sanguinary proportions is being aroused between the two races South. Do you think it should be aggravated? Is there no pride in your blue eyes, light hair, white faces, and intelligent brains? If there be, let it be aroused to save your white brothers from the impending struggle. Let it be aroused to rescue the blacks from their impending fate; the whites from fiscal and military tyranny, and the Union from those who have in vain for years striven to drive it asunder. The election of Seymour and Blair will heal all troubles.

Mr. Cox concluded with an eulogy upon these candidates, complimenting General Chamberlain for courtesy and scholarship. The contest, he said, was impersonal, and in it was bound up the doctrines of the Saviour—peace, concord, and union.

At the conclusion of Mr. Cox’s remarks, three cheers were given for Seymour and Blair and Mr. Pillsbury.

Speech in Augusta, Maine, September 9, 1868.

The *World* report says: The State capital is not forgetful of the obligations of the crisis. Already many good Democratic demonstrations have been held in the city, but the meeting to-night has surpassed them all in numbers, interest, and enthusiasm. Hon. S. S. Cox arrived this forenoon from Bangor, where he, last night, addressed the citizens on the issues specially interesting to their trade and locality, and where, as in other places, his “hard, practical facts” created a profound impression, and effected no small degree of good. The fame of the gentleman preceded him, and he was received here with every demonstration of welcome and warmth.

Mr. COX spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES OF AUGUSTA: I have been in your State for over a week, and have to acknowledge, at the capital, the courtesies and kindnesses received in every part of it, from political friends and foes. I tender to you, here and now, my special acknowledgment for this

grand reception. I attributed these favors to the fact that I have not followed the example set me by some of the orators of the opposition. Certainly the pattern of oratory from Illinois (Gen. Ingersoll) is rather an example to be shunned. I have been entirely unpersonal in my speeches, preferring to present to you facts connected with your own local interests, rather than to discuss the more inflammable politics outside of economy and commerce. I invoked the candor of my audiences, while I indulged in no abuse or invective. Strong expressions, backed by wild gesture, might do for the revolutionist and the bigot. It might help to stir men's passions in time of martial conflict. But, in a time of peace, when the people seek safety in repose for their home-rights and interests, all such irascible and noisy declamation is as unsuitable as the cries of dancing dervishes in a New England church (Laughter). Yet, notwithstanding this behavior, notwithstanding I have gathered authentic facts for your consideration, about your own matters—"vital statistics"—the leading Republican journal of Portland, the *Press*, has assailed me with bitterness. It has gone back into the hot times of war, and, culling some bouquets from my speeches then, has endeavored to excite prejudices in the New England mind, so as to render it unfit to accept truths that are essential to the very existence of your State and its commerce. If these extracts were not picked out from their context, garbled, and in one instance *forged*, and the forgery in capitals, I would let them go by. For instance, when reproaching the intolerance of New England during the war—when, by the conduct of the dominant party here, the war was prolonged, and when I dared to confront her zealots as I had those of the secession element—I am quoted as saying: "Perish, New England, that the Union may live." When, after showing how the West was being burdened, and our general carrying trade down the Mississippi was being destroyed, and the taxes of war were added to the increased cost of transportation of their produce to the sea, I said:

"Do you wonder that, at meetings West, it is resolved that the Mississippi Valley shall be no longer tributary to cupidity and folly, and that men madly *cry out*: 'Perish, New England, that the Union may live.'"

To excuse this forgery, the *Press* says it gave the *spirit*, though it pretended to give the exact extract. In that very speech, "I denounced all schemes which would, in any way, mutilate the

republic, boldly denouncing these new and growing dangers." I was then championing your commerce bound up with the West, for, did not the West then, as the South once, bring its produce to your ships to be borne to every clime? It will not do to say, that, because I have inveighed against the infidelity of Parker, the transcendentalism of Emerson, or the disunionism of Phillips, you will not listen to me when I tell you the facts and causes of the decadence of your ship-building. Suppose I was harsh towards your dominant party, is it a reason for you to close your ears to the cry of your idle ship-builders? Suppose I did say the Puritans were not Democratic, but, by connecting religion with politics, degraded both, which is, to some extent, true yet—yet, is it an answer to the fact that you had 217 ships, barks, brigs, and schooners in 1866, and only forty-two in 1867, and the same number this year? Because, in a jet of fun, based on history, quoting the charter, I said the Puritans came to this land to worship God and catch fish (Laughter), is it a reason why this phrase, showing their early inclination toward commercial adventure, should be as wax in your ears—like that which the old Ulysses put into his sailor's, against the syren's song (Laughter)? Because I said, in 1863, I denounced the early errors and intolerance which drove Roger Williams into the wilderness, cut out Quakers' tongues, burned witches, and punished by law the sins of which the Church took cognizance, and, while discriminating between the noble men of the Revolution who were of New England, and the great men like Webster and Douglas of the latter day, does it follow that you will not ponder the startling fact that our national tonnage, under the rule of plunder, has fallen off since 1860 from 5,358,000 to about 3,000,000 (Cheers)? Oh! your editor will not allow me to tell what the ship-builders say—that their business is growing into one of the "lost arts." I cannot picture to you your grand coast and harbors and forests and water-power, to illustrate the facilities you have for this art, and the advantages you have for commerce. If I show you the derangement of currency, the suicidal exactions of tariff, the paralysis of production, the lessening of transportation, the diminution of tonnage, how all the working-man uses has been burdened, and how all this has been caused by the harpies who prey on us, under pretext of reconstruction and Bureaus, and to be answered that it is all false because I have spoken for religious toleration, State independence, and national unity! (Cheers.) When

I show you in detail the immense expenses of this Government for three years past under Radical rule to be \$1,500,000,000, nearly equal to all the cost of the Government from 1789 to 1861,* is it relevant for my critic to say: "Oh! that young man once denounced Cotton Mather and the early spoliation upon the red men in Massachusetts!" (Laughter.) Certainly the bold forgery of my former speech by this editor unfits him to be my censor. I dismiss him and his performance to enter upon the discussion of matters more important. I do not desire to repeat my statements as to your commerce. Most of them have been printed. I gave enough at Brunswick, and added to the collection fresh facts and illustrations at Bath. These facts have grown as I have traveled. Ship-builders have come to me with fresh facts, until I am satisfied that, under the present tariff on timber, iron, sheathing, paints, ropes, sail duck, salt, &c., which enter into a ship, your business is dead until a party which is in favor of fair play, and against class legislation, is placed in power. It is simply cruel to this grand art of shipbuilding to say, as is said, that we must perpetuate negro control in the South by heavy taxes for the army and Bureau at the peril of your content and prosperity. This, too, when the commerce of the world is being liberalized and is growing. Why should France and England grow more than double in the past ten years with their tonnage? Why should we fall off! Why should England, which ten years ago only carried one-fifth of our foreign imports and exports, now have three-fourths? Is there no remedy? Who is responsible? I answer: the party who has power to vote down vetoes, which has more than two-thirds of the Federal Legislature! The party which in this year of peace has its army and its navy at an expense double that of the Government under Democratic rule in 1860!—its army to protect its proscriptive and suicidal policy in the South; and its navy to protect a commerce that is almost gone from the sea. I know, gentlemen, these are pocket arguments. But what is the use of government if it steals from your pocket, in taxes, unequal and burdensome, without the compensation of protection to your families, your happiness, and your daily avocations? Surely, I might address the Radical Congress in this connection as Timoleon did the citizens of Syracuse:

"You have not, as good Patriots should do, studied
The public good, but your particular ends;

Factions among yourselves, preferring such
To offices and honors, as ne'er read
The elements of saving policy;
But deeply skilled in all the principles
That usher to destruction!" [Cheers.]

I might give you a higher tone of argumentation, appealing to your sense of patriotism and your love of your own race. There is no appeal in this contest which a Christian people should echo with more delight than that which dwells upon the peace and good will which the Saviour taught, and for the illustration of which God has given us such splendid opportunities. Read the calm sentiments of General Lee's letter to General Rosecrans. Who, with a heart that is not black with spite and greedy for spoil, cannot pity the devastation which our great strife has caused and which yet remains in the South? Destroyed homesteads and desolated fields—once scenes of cultivated refinement—have they no voice? Shall not these traces of ruin be obliterated? Shall not the fields be again white with cotton, and golden with grain? When they are, your interests will be aggrandized—for we are all members of one body. We are bound up in one destiny. Radicalism may weaken, but cannot break the chain between North and South. The election of Seymour—the accomplished statesman—and Blair—the indomitable soldier—will be the first page of new and better history. The day will then begin its dawn. They hold what Ward Beecher once so pithily said: "Our theory of Government has no place for a State except in the Union." If to hold this be revolution, then are the Supreme Court and the Democratic party in the category of revolutionists. The Court was ready to so decide. The Radicals have, by various acts, formally recognized it. They have, by their recent legislation and conduct, endeavored, for party ends, to bring States in which were never out, and by so doing they have destroyed the relations of equality of the States by interfering with all local concerns—including suffrage. They hurled the military power to the aid of negro supremacy South. They have thus violated the very form and genius of our federal system. All the powers of the United States are held in trust from the States. They are limited and specific. They have never lost their vigor by war; and, on the repression of rebellion, these powers are resumable as if never disturbed. The only penalty which civil war

should entail, one that is fearful enough, is that which afflicts communities. It is defeat, and its losses and horrors. It is the interest of all that when the rebellion is crushed, that the rebels be rescued, and that all move in content under the protection of the Government as before, and in the track marked out for its movement. The whole Radical policy is outside of that track. It is, therefore, revolutionary. The Democratic policy is that within the track. The machine must keep upon it, or else, destruction. The war was waged under and for the Constitution. Its results must be garnered up under its ægis. Any other results, such as we now have in the South, tend to change our fundamental conditions of Union, and will not be permanent. The strain to keep such permanency is convulsive and seditious. We shall then have only a republic in name. We have worse than a consolidated despotism—"buoyed only by its rottenness and efficient only by the sword." (Cheers.) Need I prove these results by reference to specific acts of Radical policy? Read the three acts of reconstruction. They assume that Congress may unmake States and give all laws for their guidance while in their non-age. The last supplement, passed March 2, 1867, declares "that the existing governments in the ten rebel States were not legal State governments;" and then proceeds to expound the former acts of reconstruction by turning over all concerns to the military—"subject to the paramount authority of Congress." But if Congress can by statute, prescribe, alter, add to or diminish the conditions of Union—then Congress is indeed supreme and the Constitution a rope of sand. It is a new system—the omnipotence of the British Parliament, without even its popular checks. The duties of the Judicial, Executive and Legislative departments do not lead them to determine the relations of States. Only the States can do this, under the provisions of the Constitution for its own amendment. But Congress, compounding all power into itself, and using the army with its iron grip, gives military government to ten States. It is not given merely as a *posse* to keep the peace at the call of the civil power; not merely to write with a pen offraud and force the registration of voters for black supremacy; not merely for the punishment of criminals; but to override all

existing civil governments. Twelve millions of people, with a view to negro subjection in a territory where the Constitution of the United States is supposed to reign, are at one dash of this monstrous ukase of Congress, stripped of all their guarantees. The very liberties of hundreds of years are at one fell swoop destroyed; and we are congratulated—amidst all discontent, anarchy, savage associations, bloodshed and perils in the South to-day—congratulated on the success of reconstruction! Go to Tennessee, South Carolina, Louisiana! There read the irony and taunt conveyed in such congratulations.

Mr. Cox then discussed in detail the results to Southern industry and on Northern capital of these destructive acts. He said: The Southern land pines for the peace which will encourage industry and induce content. It longs for the tranquility which will grow corn and cotton, sugar and rice. It wants no more revenges in the shape of black ballots or fixed bayonets. It wants the States restored to their practical relations, and their revolutions performed in the spheres of equality, and not with destructive ruin and confusion in jarring and eccentric orbits. This can only be done under conditions similar to those of the Christian system—the law of love as the rule of peace; kindness and forgiveness allied with intelligence and patriotism!

When war was flagrant, we had a policy of war. Governor Seymour, while Governor of New York, aided to carry it through. He said in a message that he illustrated by his act:

We must accept the condition of affairs as they stand. At this moment the fortunes of our country are influenced by the result of battles. Our armies in the field must be supported—all Constitutional demands of our General Government must be promptly responded to. *Under no circumstances can a division of the Union be conceded!*

Now, when peace has come, he has the policy of peace. Let us be wise to accept him with his policy. Courteous, modest, scholarly, without stain upon his private life, and without taint in his public record, he will, better than any one within the confines of the republic, administer its affairs with an eye single to all its interests, and with the sentiment of a patriot who recognizes no flag which has not all our stars upon its field! (Cheers.)

Mr. Cox resumed his seat amid prolonged applause.

Speech of S. S. Cox at Portland, Me., on September 11.

One of the largest political meetings ever held in this State has just been brought to a close. the announcement that the Hon. S. S. Cox, of New York, would address the citizens of Portland this evening, was sufficient to draw out a crowd of nearly ten thousand persons, including the wealth and respectability of the city. The demonstration was held at the largest hall in the city, which building remained filled to repletion to the close, notwithstanding the hot and sultry weather. The galleries were filled with ladies, a fine band of music was in attendance and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the evening. After Mr. Cox had returned to his hotel for the night, he was again called out by a large band of serenaders, to whose music and lusty cheers he briefly responded.

The meeting was presided over by Hon. C. P. Kimball, supported by a long list of vice-presidents and secretaries. Mr. Cox dwelt mainly on issues concerning the whole country, but exhorted the Democratic voters of Maine not to forget the struggle in their own State on Monday next. The speaker was introduced by Mr. Kimball, and was received with loud and prolonged cheering.

SPEECH OF MR. COX.

CITIZENS OF MAINE: I have spoken most particularly in other parts of the facts and causes connected with the decadence of our maritime interests. I have shown how taxes and tariffs—unfriendly legislation—have stabbed and poisoned your commerce. The facts are so numerous, and the causes so potential, that no one speech could comprehend the enormity of the blunders and crimes for which you will hold Radicalism responsible. (Cheers.) Without preface as to other matters, I ask you to listen to mere facts and further deductions. Grind them into your natures; while forgetting the errors of all parties past, ask what is your relief in the present. I shall demonstrate again, by new and collateral arguments, that the dominant party, whether wittingly or not, are the foes to your prosperity.

COMMERCE, THE GREAT INTEREST.

There is a comparative anatomy of nations, whose distinctive features can thus be traced.

It is certain that the prominent feature of this State and of this nation is, or was, before bad counsels ruled, our marine. The breezes are ours. The waters are ours. The woods are ours. In better days the sail of traffic glided in and out of our harbors "with ceaseless interchange." It was our profit at home; our pride abroad! But now, alas! we have all these prodigalities of nature and have no use of them. The English *Punch* used to represent a Yankee as larger than his garments. The picture is not now true. The Yankee is dwarfed, and the clothes are unfit.

OUR GROWTH THROUGH COMMERCE.

True, as a nation we have 2,936,166 square miles of immovable land. Its variety of climate and culture has been the theme of economists. But every one of these 1,879,146,040 acres, of which Maine has over 20,000,000, have been, or will be cultivated, by those who either by themselves or their progenitors, crossed the sea. Gradually since 1790 this nation has increased decennially over one-third of 100 per cent. We number nearly 43,000,000 of people. This is the result of that commerce which came to us freighted with the bodies and the hopes of the human kind. In fifty years alone we have had from other shores—and many of them are before me—some 7,000,000 of people. We have outrun all other nations. Whereas, the foremost of other nations has increased 121 per cent. in 60 years, we have increased 593 per cent.! Why has commerce been checked? Commerce made this nation. Burdens, war, duties, taxations, poor-rates, and other impediments to freedom and content have become our legacy under Radical rule. They hinder our advancement now, by the same law of repulsion which once drove millions to this once untaxed and free land. They choke production. They destroy skill. In the ten years before the war, under Democratic auspices, we doubled our values. Our population increased 135 per cent., and our wealth 130 per cent. Why? Was not distance annihilated by steam, between inland and seaboard? Were not the very tides carried to the farms? What a splendid growth was that of our own commerce from 1820 to 1860! Rising, under the magic of your industry and genius, from 2,180,764 tons in 1840, to 3,535,454 in 1850, and 5,358,808 in 1860! You who lay and caulk the keel, rig the sail, mould the anchor, twist the cordage, and frame the engine, cannot

be too proud of your former achievements. You are proud, however, as the present Greek is of the ruined Acropolis, or the Roman of the dilapidated Pantheon. Your Neptune is dethroned; his trident broken; his image pulverized. Our thirty thousand vessels of 1860—where are they? The vessels die on an average in eight years! Where is their substitute? Ask your echoless ship-yards and your deserted harbors! The product of our mines, agriculture and manufacture, tell the tale of dislocated labor and paralyzed commerce. Since 1865, even since peace was made, you have still decayed.

DECADENCE OF COMMERCE.

Why is it that your keels and flag float no longer in foreign seas? Why do you lament for the olden days, when you labored so proudly and profitably? Ah! we have had too little keel and too much sail on our Ship of State. The canvas has been swelled until we have careened her. The political pirates have rifled the cargo and scuttled the ship. Political tempests have dissipated our commerce. You have a dead calm in your avocations. Our commerce has visibly declined since 1860. I could name you the nations, from China to Peru, and from the Levant to the Baltic, in opposing illustration. Even since the war has ended, it has not grown. It is a theme for sadness. Lament for it, ye men of Maine. Lament as a "virgin clothed in sackcloth for the husband of her youth." In vain is your lament, unless you hurl the spoilers from power. (Cheers.) Our exports go abroad in foreign bottoms. A pilot told me there was in New York harbor last month but one foreign vessel with our flag. Radical legislation, as I shall show you, joined with the pirates of the civil war to make shipping and commerce ruinous. Read Donald McKay's letter! He says the last Congress "refused the bill for the relief of the ship-building interest by a drawback on dutiable articles entering into the construction of new ships. The hope of renewing our commercial marine and bringing it up to its former standard is abandoned." Congress had time to extend Freedmen's Bureaus and spend moneys in arming blacks; but it had no time for your interest. (Cheers.) Read Wm. H. Webb's reasons why he closed his shipyard. He could not work under our infamous tariff. All that is left is our coasting trade, and that is only saved by a law which forbids foreign bottoms to engage in it. (A voice, "That's true.") The two and a half millions of cotton bales

this year, or as much of it as will go abroad, will go under the British Union Jack. On a statement made in the *Journal of Commerce*, I affirm that "since the 25th of May, when the ship Universe cleared for Liverpool with ninety-six bales of cotton, not a bale of cotton has left this port in an American vessel. English and European steamers have taken all, except one hundred bales in a Bremen ship for Bremen. A new line of steamers will run soon from Savannah to Liverpool once a fortnight. The carrying trade must soon be done entirely by steam. Is the whole of this valuable trade to be thrown into the hands of foreigners?" If so, have we not blockaded our own ports? We are shamed before the world! Our old rival, England, whom we were just surpassing in a commercial marine, now eclipses us on every sea. She is binding continents together by the rail, and reaching out her hands to the ends of the earth by her commerce. She is combining in herself the maritime heroism of Denmark, Holland, Venice, the Hanseatic League, Old Spain with her galleons freighted with silver, and Young America with her clippers which outran the wind! For trade, England sends her Franklins and Parrys to the pole, her Livingstones to Africa, and her Napiers into Abyssinia. Wherever the stars shine on the ocean, her flag floats and her compass directs. Even Brazil, cut in twain by the mighty Amazon, has thrown her vast territory open to free commerce. She shames us. To us Heaven has been lavish with her gifts. We, of all nations, have the most ample facilities for commerce. Atlantic, Pacific, Gulf, lake, river shore, to head of tide-water and island coasts, give us 36,689 miles—nearly twice around the globe! Add river and canal, and our water carriage is as much again. We have more, harbors to the mile, broader and deeper, than any other country. With our magnificent sea coast, our forests of pine North and live-oak South, it is thus we return the benefits of Heaven. The very ocean, it would seem, which leaps to our shores—our Mississippi, our lakes, our Hudsons, our Penobscotts—are blunders of the Almighty, at least in Radical theory and practice. Are not our rulers wiser than Him who ruleth the raging of the seas? Cannot they repeal His decrees, issued in wind and wave, on river, sea, and lake? Do they not nullify the very order of Providence as they have our written Constitution? (Cheers.) It was against these outrages upon nature, commerce, and the colonies that our fathers rebelled. It was declared in the Declaration of Independence "The history of the

present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct objects the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States ;" and one of the facts submitted to a candid world is the act of British statesmanship, in "cutting off our trade with all parts of the world." (Cheers.)

CAUSES OF COMMERCIAL RUIN.

Need I point to you the reasons why our commerce and our country has been nearly ruined since 1860? The party in power have demoralized our currency, until it is as debauched as it is redundant. It affects commerce disastrously. They have destroyed commerce by destroying the productive industry on which it depends. They have destroyed it by inordinate taxation and a carnival waste of money. They have, by specific, pernicious tariff legislation, destroyed our power to build ships.

THE CURRENCY AND COMMERCE.

Democracy gave us, as a Federal currency, gold and silver. It was the legal tender of the Constitution. It was the lubricating oil of commerce. It was the medium of exchanges, the vehicle of trade, the standard of wages and prices. It was stable. It had no fluctuations. A dollar of our mint was twenty-four and three-quarter grains of gold. It was the legal tender of the world. It was the currency of the ships. (Cheers.) I am not now making an argument for the hurried resumption of specie payments; I am only indicting the party who gave us this irredeemable bastard nuisance as currency. I voted against making greenbacks at all; and against their being a legal tender. It was a scheme to enable the debtor to cheat his creditor. It was the old kingcraft to sweat the coin. It was a puny attempt to repeal the Almighty's decree, that gold and silver—sunk by him in the earth, to be delved after as precious—should be the universal standard of value. (Cheers.) Yet gold is the superior of paper after all. Gold still wears the purple. It is the standard of value even for paper. Congress may make it the standard of prices, but by doing so defrauds labor and cheats the people. Prices rise as the currency falls. Money is plenty. Debts are paid. Oh! how facile to pay them—even national debts—by paper. Commerce may not at once fail under such a scheme. Bladders are hard to drown. (Laughter.) Galvanized into unhealthy activity by an unnatural stimulus, speculation is rife, and the body, politic and

social, is bloated. Men may call it health. It is the deceitful animation which precedes collapse. When the Continental paper was worth five hundred to one, business was lively. In 1795 jobbing was animated in France, for were not the assignats the very hashish of intoxication in trade? But ah! the cruel revulsion! Desperation is the mother of such schemes, and the prosperity it brings is as temporary as it is illusive. We are already realizing its baleful fruits. It appears by an article in the London *Times* that the banks of France and England are gorged with gold, and one reason for it is given, to-wit: that the paper system of the United States is a bar to commerce! Moreover, I affirm on good authority, that by reason of our paper and tax systems, the gold of the Pacific is shorn of one-third of its value for uses outside of the United States. To trade abroad you must have a measure equal to that of other nations. When you sell a bushel of potatoes, do you not have a standard bushel? When you measure a vessel do you use an india rubber strap? You prefer a foot rule. (A voice—"sure thing.") The Bible has Democratic politics in it all through. But where is there so sound a doctrine as that in Amos, when he reproaches those who "make the ephah small and shekel great and falsify the balances by deceit?" (Applause.) When you have a variable dollar are not all your other measures at fault? If you redeem your paper with a dollar of specie, very well. But you must have a steady gauge, else you labor in vain and in the dark. In this time, when the newly found gold fields are furnishing the world bases of exchange, is it not monstrous to substitute for these world-wide energies of trade, a paper system which is a continual tax on labor and a continual hindrance to commerce? Go to Switzerland! It was never cursed with paper. Go to California, prodigal with gold and a gold policy! See the good effects of a standard. In the interests of the consumers, I charge the lowering of this standard as a stupendous fraud. (Cheers.) "Oh! we could not make war for the Union, without running a greenback printing-press in the Treasury." You couldn't? Did not Napoleon fight all his wars with gold and without assignats? Your party gave the poor man this false money; yet you try to prove that his wages rise, when all that he buys rises in higher ratio. (Cheers.) Are your sympathies with labor or its spoilers? Could you not have withdrawn enough of your

paper to make it on a par with gold? Had you the courage of truth? Is not the equilibrium of value, therefore, as uncertain to-day as it was in 1864? Is not this the one great cause why the sails of commerce are clipped, and your ship-yards are the haunts of bats at night and idlers by day? (Applause.) The Democracy frown upon the curse of paper money. If in power they would redeem it, as they would the nation. (Cheers.) In the days of Jackson, they bore high the golden standard as Governor Seymour has since in New York! (Cheers for Seymour.) The Democracy alone can revive commerce and rescue labor from the excesses of jobbers and the frauds of paper money. We are bound to do it by party traditions and principles. We desire no partiality. Our platform does not require you to pay in the tariff dues gold for the interest on the bonds, and then have you receive your wages in a currency 30 per cent. less valuable. It does not say that the bondholder shall have his principal and interest in gold, and you should have your wages and the pensioner his pittance in paper. It says one currency for all—(cheers)—lawful money for bondholder as well as ship-builder—(cheers)—one currency for all, and that the best! (Cheers.) I charged the Radical party with being the foe to commerce. "This I shall prove:

TONNAGE NOT RECONSTRUCTED.

In one tempest of Radical wrath during the war, a law was passed cutting off from registry a large tonnage from our marine; perhaps two-fifths of it. Why? This was a part of the gospel of hate—the reprisal of war! These vessels were driven by Radical rule out of our marine, because we failed to protect them under our flag. The rebels did their part to destroy our marine. For them I am no apologist. In my place in Congress, as a friend of free commerce, I denounced those who preyed on innocent trade. I said in December, 1861, what I believe now—"That England, by harboring privateers, became an accessory; that the overhauling of the Harvey Birch, almost in sight of the English shores, after dragging down her Stars and Stripes, and raising instead a banner of triple-striped infamy, after ironing her crew, and with the red hand of a buccaneer burning her to the water's edge, and then giving the Nashville an asylum in Southampton, was treachery to neutrality and equiva-

valent to piracy." (Cheers.) The New York *Tribune* attributes the destruction of our marine to such conduct. These outrages were limited and temporary checks. Why did not our Radical Congress reconstruct our lost ships? (Applause.) They tried it on lost States. They destroyed both. (Cheers.) From 1860 to 1868 Great Britain rose from four to nine million tons. France from one to three. We fell off, meanwhile, nearly one-half our tonnage. We have less now than in 1848!

THE CAUSES OF OUR DECAY.

Our expenses this year of peace are \$400,000,000—of which \$130,000,000 is gold interest, and \$130,000,000 more to keep a standing army and negro charities South. \$260,000,000! It is as large as our wheat crop. It is equal to our ships—all. It is several Pacific Railroads! Of this \$400,000,000, more than half is customs—gold. It is taken from the people to support a Government that the year before the war cost only \$41,000,000—(cheers)—one tenth! Think how our trade has departed. Eighteen years ago only one-fifth of our imports was carried in foreign bottoms. In 1867, when our imports had increased, three-fourths were so carried. So in proportion with our export trade. Our domestic exports had decreased from 1860—when they were \$373,000,000, gold to \$334,000,000 in 1868—a decline of ten per cent.; while those of Great Britain increased during the same period thirty per cent., and France forty-three per cent. Our trade with Canada—mostly grain trade—has decreased since 1866 \$22,000,000. The cause is taxation, unequal and galling. Why, all our expenditures, from 1789 to 1861, were only \$1,781,375,363. In three years since the war—from July, 1855, to June 30, 1868—they were \$1,569,236,380. This is peace! "Let us have peace!" (Laughter.) Seventy-two years of Democracy—peace and wars—are not much beyond three years of Radical peace. (Cheers.)

TARIFFS GENERALLY FOES TO COMMERCE.

No one will deny that a tariff specifically burdensome to the ship owner prevents the building of ships. I now proceed to prove generally that tariffs which are "protective" and prohibitory, and not on a basis of revenue, are foes to commerce. The gross product of the United States in 1860 showed some seven thousand millions for the year. The major part of this was

derived from commerce; and that, too, when commerce alone was the source of our revenue by customs. One half of the interests of this country is commercial, one-fourth agricultural, and one-eighth manufacturing. By lineage, by the character of our people, by the variety of our soil and seas, there is no limit to our commercial enterprise. When you impair it, you impair your productive power and your taxable ability. Let me illustrate. In the West they raise more corn than they need. They have a right to sell the surplus anywhere. If, with this surplus, they buy tea, coffee, and sugars, it encourages transportation; first to the seaboard and then on the main. If you can get for your one day's labor what is equivalent to two days' labor abroad, that is best (Cheers.) But here comes the Radical, and says; "No; first help the State; then help a class; then, if there is any profit or loss, pocket it!" (Cheers.) He forces you to buy dear goods, under pretence of supporting the Government. Let us see how the present tariff works. Last year there was \$176,000,000 gold collected by customs. Its average levy was 45 per cent in gold. To that add the gold premium; there have been collected in customs since 1863 five hundred millions. Add the cost of the gold, the importers' profit, and that of the wholesaler and the retailer, and you will approximate to the fact that you are paying for a few people some 65 per cent. on the average, if not more, a great part of which never goes into the Treasury. To illustrate: Mr. Walker, a New England economist, has taken up sugar, and has shown that, on the basis of the 1858 importation, the consumers lost on nearly fifty millions of sugar consumed, one-fifth! It is the same with other articles. A tariff on imports diminishes foreign commerce. The high tariff of 1828 reduced our commerce in four years 500,000 tons! When the tariff was reduced in 1838, ten years after, it increased our tonnage from 1,606,149 to 1,180,763! Ever since the war began our tariff has been tinkered some seven times under war necessities and peace pretenses for debt and expenses, and we have fallen off nearly one-half our tonnage. When will we learn that by the care of commerce we get the revenue! Neglect trade, and we sponge out the sources of wealth. Then revenue dies. What we want is a system of taxation by which you pay for your imports with your exports. This gives rise to commerce. Then your

gains are double. Then you do not "give your stock of more to that which had too much;" but you gain something, and can afford to give much and more. The idea of opening up China to us, as Mr. Burlingame proposes, with a system of exactions impeding all commerce, is folly. Better begin by ridding this nation of its devices to rob. Then you may talk about reaching the five hundred millions of Mongolians with your trade. (Cheers.) I do not object to a revenue tariff. Let us pay our expenses by it, and cancel gradually the principal and pay the interest of the debt. I do object to the lack of economy, the lavish expenditure, the class favoritism, the inequalities of taxation, monopolizing subsidies, the greed of capital, all of which wear out the thews and sinews of industry, and without result. (Cheers.)

APPEAL TO THE WORKINGMAN.

Let me illustrate the effect of Radical rule on the workingman who cannot buy as much now for a day's work as he used to. ("True, sir.") Say he receives \$2.50 per day now, instead of \$1 years ago, yet he does not now live so well on the greater as formerly on the smaller sum. (Cheers.) He does not lay up anything for a rainy day. A friend has compared 1859 with 1868. Your four days' work then bought a barrel of flour. It now takes eight days. One day's work five pounds of tea, now two pounds; one day's work once bought thirty pounds of sugar, now fifteen only; one day's work fifteen pounds of coffee, now five; one month's work once clothed a family of reasonable size, now it takes three month's work. It is the same with rent, &c. Taxation and extravagance have made clothes, food, and houses higher. Although wages are nominally higher, they do not help so much as formerly. "You feed on enchanted viands:" greenbacks, promises, philanthropy, spites, and revenges. "You seem to feed, and pine with hunger." Take the taxes: In 1860, only \$1.60 per head was paid by the people. In 1866, \$14 per head was paid in customs and internal revenue. In the year before the war, the national expenses were \$41,000,000. This year, not counting interest, they will be near \$270,000,000. They ought not to be \$100,000,000. Remember, there are, besides, State, city, and county expenses as well. Europe is absorbing a great part of the interest on our debts. Our labor goes to Europe to fatten absenteees and nabobs. Do you wonder people are beginning to consider how to pay this indebted-

edness by cheap methods? For myself, when the time comes to pay it, I will agree to pay it in such money as may be then lawful. I accept the Democratic platform, for by that time I hope Democracy will have had a chance to make paper as good as gold, if, indeed, any paper currency remains. (Cheers.) But I want, meanwhile, another plank recognized for the relief of labor, and that is, equality of taxation. (Cheers.) There is no reason why the immense interests in Federal bonds should not be taxed. Our debt represents so much capital destroyed for labor, but laid up for non-producers. Bonds are a form of wealth. Why should they escape taxation? But, it is said, "The States cannot tax; the courts forbid." I know what the courts have said as to States; but who denies that the power resides in the Federal Government? Why has it not been exercised? This is one of the Radical sins of omission, for which the laboring masses are calling them to judgment. (Cheers.) This exemption is class legislation. Suppose you get \$100 a month for your labor here, how much remains after the taxes are taken out? Remember, they are taken out of your sweat. Consider Federal, State, city and county taxes, and the high prices by reason of them. Consider that it is turned into gold, and you will have left about fifty dollars only. Taxes are high, for the debt is large and growing. Low taxes come of economy, not of armies and Bureaus. Low taxes come of content, peace, and union. These beget order and economy. They tax you for the Freedmen's Bureau fifteen millions a year. I don't care what General Howard asserts. An officer who knows, informs me it is fifteen millions. They draw from various funds to make it out: from the deficiency bills of the future and the means unused in the war office. It is all a sham that the negroes pay for themselves in cotton taxes. If they do, what need of their being the wards of the nation—smart enough to rule you, but not smart enough to get their own living. (Laughter and cheers.) They tax you for the army in peace more than you were taxed when Democrats made war. For one year, since October, 1867, the army has cost \$133,140,000; and in fifteen months, \$160,858,000. This is aside from navy pensions, interest on the debt, and the civil list. These sums are the very excesses of prodigality. It shows that our nation is "buoyant by corruption, and efficient only by the sword." (Cheers.) Nearly this amount has to be paid for the pub-

lic debt. How much more would have been taken if there had not been an end of greenback issues? Two hundred and sixty-eight millions were asked as subsidies by railroads and other interests in the last Congress. They were asked by monopolists who were so good as to offer Government a second mortgage on the property.

REFORMS—ECONOMY.

Do you ask me how the Radical party can economize? Repeal Bureaus for lazy people, good enough to legislate and vote, but too lazy to work. Save eighteen millions a year by withdrawing the bank currency, and making banks use the legal-tenders, till they can be redeemed. Stop deficiency bills, which are devices to cheat the people, by a false inventory of expenditures, a prolific source of deceit, corruption and extravagance. Make Congress reduce its own useless expenditures. Why should a fragment of a body in three years double its contingent expenses; running up from 1863, when it was \$353,000, not counting members' pay, to \$725,000 the past year! Congress should begin at home! (Cheers.) Stop the distribution of our arms to negro governments. The last appropriation I see was for 218,000 rifled muskets at four million dollars! *Cui bono?* Stop the military expenses which I have shown to be over a hundred millions a year. Come back to the Democratic policies of Jackson, Polk and Pierce, when not half as much was spent for the whole government as is now spent in one department; when not as much was spent in years as now in months. (Cheers.) Above all, restore harmony between the races and between the States. Then expenses will stop. The party which can do this, is the party in harmony with the dominant classes. I do not despair of curing these great evils. No great nation need despair. The disorders are not of Democratic making, but their physician must be a Democrat. (Cheers.) General Wilson and others have no cabalistic words for cure. Copperheads, traitors, Hampton, Cobb, &c., are not cures. They are silly insults and falsehoods. They give disease; they cannot cure. The Radical party will wreck upon these rocks of extravagance. (Cheers.) Yet this very rock, rightly used, will afford us the foundation for a Democratic beacon. Give up your old prejudices against Democracy. In navigation you cannot always steer in a direct course, but you may, by tacking, arrive at your harbor! Give

up all servility to your preachers. (Laughter.) They work in hate, and not in love. Do not be over pious—(laughter)—in politics. When the Rabbi fasted, the dogs ran away with his dinner. (Laughter.) Take care of your dinners—in other words, your houses!

WHY OUR CREDIT FAILS.

It is time the knife was put to this Radical poisonous and luxuriant growth. To do that, we should raise our credit by a lasting concord; we should induce labor to the end—prosperity. We should at least take the burdens off of commerce, and allow the old glory to dawn on our flag around the world."

Why does our nation have to pay for its money twice as much as Russia, and more than twice as much as England? What reason is there why we should be dishonored in our credit as well as paralyzed in our industries? Is it because of the civil war? That is three years gone. Is it altogether because we fear a war of races? Is it not because the South is still held by black terrorism and military power? Is it not because the genius of Radicalism is convulsive and destructive? Is it not, in fine, because Radicalism is not in harmony with the genius of our government? (Cheers.) It cannot work with our system. It kills States. It disfranchises intelligence. It enfranchises ignorance. It gives bounty to laziness. It piles burdens on industry. It gives power to the malevolent. It strives to lift up a stolid race to the level of their superiors, by dragging down the superior. Was it not enough for Radicalism to impair our Government? Was it not enough to demolish the structure before our eyes? "Must they stone their friends in war and their props in peace" with the ruins? How long can the old Federal craft stand it? She was launched by great men. (Cheers.) We know who laid her keel. When she was completed at Philadelphia, in 1787, the pumps stood ready for the leakage, the capstans to heave anchor, the anchors ready for every vicissitude, the ship head, like the beak of the ancient galley, decorated with the figure of liberty—an ornament and a utility—and the bottom coppered to protect from barnacles and weeds, ready to be launched forth from the stocks. Her banners are flying, the ropes are cut, the last prop is knocked away. The old ship quivers like a thing of life. Slowly at first, then with an accelerated motion, till the timbers fairly crack and the

keel fires. She plunges, rises, shoots forward and is ready! (Cheers.) Thirteen States cheer her as the great ark of political safety! Thank God! she was never rudderless from 1787, till Radicalism unshipped the rudder. (Cheers.) She sailed ever by the charter, till Radicalism tore it into fragments! She will soon be afloat in her olden track. (Cheers.) She will bear the precious freightage of many millions, and all the hopes of generations in the future. (Cheers.) Upon her deck, we will have a Democratic captain! One who knows the ship's papers and can sail her safely into a haven of repose, and his name will be Horatio Seymour. (Immense cheering.) If it would be reverent and not obtrusive on those most intense thoughts, which are associated with the unseen world, I would in this great affliction and peril of our country, once, so united, happy, free and progressive, offer, in all humanity my prayer to the Father of us all, for guidance and direction. As the patriots of Poland once prayed in their affliction, I would pray Thee, O Lord! who for so many years didst surround us with power—restore to us our ancient glory and our free country! Thou hast been touched by the woe and desolation of the South; let the light of Thy blessing fall upon our blighted States with the influences of answered prayer, and restore to us our free country? Oh, Lord! whose just hand crushes the empty pride of the earth, restore to us the simplicity of our better days! May the cross which has been insulted by the language of hate, even from the pulpits, be garlanded with the chaplets of victory, as the emblem of a loving, restored, free country (Applause.)

PENNSYLVANIA CAMPAIGN.

Extract from Mr. Cox's Speech at Harrisburg, July 18th.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—William Penn was the author of the idea, if not of the phrase, "Let us have peace!" When he landed at New Castle October 27, 1682, he had in his heart the sweet love he had learned of the Quaker, Thomas Loe—friendship to all our kind—negro, Indian; and he even loved—I beg pardon of our Radical brethren—he even had some respect for his

own white race! He had stood in the dock before Jeffries, the infamous, and had demanded, as others have since, fair trial, according to the Magna Charta and the common law. But when he came hither, he found the Aborigines the true owners of the soil. He did not steal their woods and streams. That sort of larceny was left for the pious people of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies. He never recognized the infernal and Pagan doctrine of conquest. He had his charter. He apparently owned the soil. It came from royal seals. Charles gave him some right. But he had a sounder principle. He would not, in blood and in hate, in enmity or malice, claim his proprietary right. Under the shade of your great forests he treated with the natives, and fixed by sanctions now a part of your pride and history, the right which civilization and Christianity gave to his adventure. William Penn was no carpet-bagger. The calumet was smoked, as it ought to be now, in gentle, loving, kindness. The planter was of no more account in the eyes of your founder than the red man. He even made a jury of twelve—no military commissions—a jury of six Indians and six planters, to settle disputes. He gave Magna Charta to the woods!

One thing your great founder established! He made your State, at its birth, a free Commonwealth; and he made a cement for its permanency in the principles of concord.

The varied and beautiful scenery of the Susquehanna—which artists so love to copy,—is it not made more beautiful by the associations to which I have referred? Here is the land, so splendid—which was the occasion and locality for illustrating these principles of liberty and justice! Hither came English, German, Welsh, Irish, and French. Here were gathered Protestant, Catholic, Quaker, Huguenot, and Presbyterian! Hither came the Yorkshireman—John Harris—from whom this Capital is named—followed by the “boys” from Donegal, Ireland! Out of this rare and wonderful egg sprang the present Imperial State of Pennsylvania! It was born of Democracy! It was in its germ, the very essence of unaristocratic adventure. It was the home of justice and liberty. All classes came here, with the motto of its founder: “Let us have peace.”

There will be no realization of this prayer till military force and anarchy shall cease. Upon Pennsylvania depends—now as two hundred years ago—the issues of peace. They

have been made grand by time. If you honor your founder, you will at least ask why peace has not come with the cessation of war.

Peace can never come, my friends, under the Radical rule of hate. Inquire first into the reasons why we have discord. It never came under the Quaker teaching of Penn. To cure these troubles you require a resort to the best Christian teaching. That teaching is in consonance with the ideas of our government.

After a discussion of economical questions Mr. Cox discussed at length the fiscal questions, advocating equal taxation of all property, whether in bonds or not; denounced the greenback issue as a fraud on labor, urged the reduction of expenditures, and the return to the Democratic days of economy, and hard money. He said the debt was growing; the cost of the government is now \$14, when it was the year before the war, but \$1.60 per head; that whereas it only cost us seventeen hundred millions for seventy-two years before 1861, it has cost us the same—lacking two hundred millions—for the past three years of Radical rule. He pointed out various ways in which economy could be practiced; beginning with Congress, Bureau, and army. He said it had been proven that our commence was dead. This was an evidence that production was dying. Our very skill even in agriculture is failing. The burdens of Radical taxation incumber the land. We are already a third rate power in ships and commerce. Our imports are failing with our exports, with the lapse of time. Our bonds are going abroad. We are paying tribute to nabobs, absentees and capitalists. There is only one relief for men of business and men of patriotism. It is in change. The quack should be dismissed. A new physician should be called. In all that gives stability to industry, freedom to trade, standards to currency, equality in taxation, economy in administration, self-government to States, peace to the Union; at home, peace—abroad, peace and glory—in all that makes a law-abiding and Constitution-revering party—the Democracy will stand in the next seventy years, as it did in the seventy years before the war; a wall of adamant against the waves of Radicalism! It is this party that has made our land great and our government strong, not by the collisions of civil war, but by the cultivation of concord. Under the control of Democracy, we should, before now, have had this whole continent banded under a federal head, holding as

gravity holds the stars, half our hemisphere, by the system of constitutional law.

Before the war the Democracy strove to save the nation with earnest, patriotic and peaceful endeavors. During the war it commanded its sons to the field with melancholy pride; and it gave its sweetest blood to the cause, as it had given its kindest counsels. Horatio Seymour, by his speeches and his administration in New York, is a fair type and noble illustration of Democratic patriotism. His record is crystalline. In vain slander assails it. He, like the party whose exponent he is, accepted the results of the war as they were declared, as in honor bound, and in the spirit of Christian amnesty, "with malice to none, charity to all, to bind up the nation's wounds, and to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and all nations." In this spirit the Democracy intend to contend. If they fail, then the stars in their courses are against them. If they succeed, the spirit of Christ will temper the people, and all that is forgiving and good will encompass the Constitution as sentinels for its guard and its sweet honor!

Extract from Mr. Cox's Philadelphia Speech, September 17, 1868.

From the Age, Philadelphia.

Last evening Concert Hall was densely packed with people, many of whom were ladies, who had convened for the purpose of hearing the Hon. Samuel S. Cox, ex-Congressman from Ohio, who was announced to speak on the topic, "The Business Condition of the Country." The hall was crowded long before the hour of commencement had arrived with intelligent citizens who desired, in the midst of the political excitement and misrepresentation so current at the present time, to hear the important issues now pending, calmly and argumentatively discussed. The fame of Mr. Cox had preceded him, and he had no sooner made his appearance upon the stage than he was greeted with a storm of huzzas and cheers that must have astonished him.

The President of the meeting, Mr. Patterson, in well-timed remarks, then introduced the orator of the evening, Hon. S. S. Cox, who said:

SPEECH OF MR. COX.

GENTLEMEN: I remember once to have heard performed a play called the "Benoiton Family"—

a fast family. Throughout all the shiftings of the scene, the leading personage, Madame Benoiton, is always inquired after, but does not appear. She is always about to go out or expected to return. (Laughter.) We may be allowed to inquire of our Radical Rulers, on this of all days in the year, after the leading feature of American Republicanism. May we not ask, in an humble way, after the American Constitution? It is really the head of our political family. As this is its natal day, and this city its birthplace, our Radical friends will not think it treason if I make a few allusions to its birth and its function. In pursuance of a resolution of the Congress of the Confederation, of the 21st of February, 1787, the Convention was appointed which met in this city; that Convention adopted the Constitution; it was submitted to the several States, and ratified by Pennsylvania on the 12th of December, 1787. It bore the great name of Washington! It was signed by such names as Sherman, King, Hamilton, Dayton, Franklin, Wilson, Morris, Ingersoll, Clymer, Madison, Rutledge, and Pinckney. (Cheers.) These were the organic law-makers of our Republic. I disdain to speak of the Constitution codifiers of this time in the same breath. (Laughter and cheers.) They gave us a matchless instrument. It was the refinement of human polity. It has been the theme of the philosophic minds of the world since, as it embodied all the wisdom and eliminated all unwisdom of the ages before its appearance. It supplied the defects of the Articles of Confederation. It did more. It reconciled all local and commercial diversities. It gave national unity. This unity lasted. It lasted until the mad zealotry of sections, North and South, embroiled the unwilling people. It was sought—first by hate, then by war—to sever the bonds of constitutional union. It is now sought again to undo the great work of 1787 by fresh invasions upon the integrity and harmony of the Federal system. What a rash advance upon the truth of history and the genius of those who made our government, has been made since eighty-one years ago this day! When the Convention sent out its rescript to the Congress, with the Constitution for ratification, it was urged that the only desideratum in a national government, was the power to make war, peace, and treaties, and to levy taxes and regulate commerce. So jealous were they of these powers that the fathers divided the trust among three organizations. They called on the States to make sacrifices of State pride and individual liberty for these objects. The States responded. Said

Washington: "In this system is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, national existence." So it was. So it is to-day! I wish to-night that that the 17th of September could be held sacred to the memory of the immortal names and the grand deeds of those who made and ratified the Constitution. I find among those who ratified such Pennsylvanians as Benjamin Rush, James Wilson, and Frederick A. Muhlenberg. They were men who looked forward, not to a confined area for our government, but to a cordon of "uninformed States, who were to be inhabited by myriads of our race." When Mr. Wilson proposed to ratify the Constitution in the Pennsylvania Convention, his first thought was one now so unusual—of political and Christian charity. "Diversity of sentiment demanded a spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation." It was as indispensable then as it is now. Concession and sacrifice were held to be absolutely necessary to the expanding quality of the United States Government; expanding in only one direction—the expanse of its defined and limited powers over new and forming States! The great elements of national unity were secured; the States were strengthened, and by their strength the Union grew. We became strong against all the world, for we fulfilled what Pennsylvania in adopting the Constitution promised, "salutary permanency in magistracy and stability in the laws." Alas! what a fall since then, under Radical dispensations! (Cheers.)

This was our happy Union till 1861. Then Radicalism began its work. The reptile bored into the mound, the fierce waters rushed in with violence, and to-day, the remnant only of the best system of human government stands as a warning against excess and corruption. (Cheers.)

I do not come here to you to speak so much about politics as of the direful effects which this excess produces upon business. I am just from Maine—where I have seen the whole coast denuded of its shipyards and marine tonnage by Radical rule; and it comes home to my apprehension, that other interests will tumble into the same abyss under the same burdens and excesses. Constitutions were intended to save and protect, not to pester, harass, oppress, and repress. Our Constitution, so matchless for its reserved powers, and so wonderful in the division and checks upon its granted powers, has been utterly set at naught in war and peace by the dominant party. That party cannot reconcile the sections, States, or races in the Union. It is not in harmony with our organism as a government.

To perceive why the Radical policy has failed, and why it will fail when completed, involves an inquiry into the nature and character of our Union. As by the violation of these laws war came, so by their observance, and by that alone, will peace come. As the immediate cause of the war was the assertion of a right to throw off the paramount Federal authority and withdraw States, so the cause of the present discontent is the practical assertion of the right of Congress paramount to the organic law—to keep States out—to regulate the conditions of their pretended admission, to intermeddle in their suffrage, and to carry on what legislation they require by citizens of other States, not familiar with their needs.

**Address of Hon. S. S. Cox, at
Bloomsburg, Pa., on October 8.**

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION THOROUGHLY RE-
VIEWED.

Hon. S. Cox delivered an exhaustive and perfectly unanswerable speech before an immense mass-meeting here to-day. The burden of this statesman's address was a direct appeal to the material issues before the country, involving a merciless yet perfectly candid exhibition of the Radical policy of taxation and extravagance. The speech will be the best campaign document for our voters yet issued, and the hundreds of thousands of Democrats in this State to whom THE WORLD will present it will make an admirable use of startling yet truthful statistics.

Mr. Cox said:

PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA: In addressing you I am not unmindful of your origin, character and history. You are a composite people. There is, as I read, very little black or yellow in your mosaic, and a good deal of the Emerald. (Laughter.) Your origin shows the English Friend, united with the Scotch-Irish, in which there is a large infusion of German, which took place just before the Revolution, and since then an addition of the pure Celt. Your steadfastness, thrift, honesty, impulse, and energy spring from this rare commingling of sturdy Caucasians. The defiance of wrong which Penn illustrated, his patient yet stubborn combativeness, his love of principle as above all earthly reward—joined with the canny characteristics of the Scotch, and the mingling with the fervid nature of the Irish and the hospitable economic qualities of the German—are

to-day *your* peculiarities. Your capacious red barns, bigger than your houses; your olden love of a sure and standard currancy of gold and silver; your distrust of irredeemable paper as money; your dislike of needless and profligate taxation; your desire to be frugal while you are just—have made at once the most valuable and the most steadfast of the people of America. Not alone by geographical position, but by mental and moral qualities, is Pennsylvania the keystone! (Cheers.) When it falls out of place, the “majesty of proportion” is lost to our political arch. Hence this nation is “waiting for the verdict” which you are to render. Yours is the arbitration of our great struggle. If you maintain your place, the arch will become a rainbow in the sky, giving promise of a better future! (Cheers.)

HISTORIC ALLUSIONS.

Your history harmonizes with your origin and character. Pennsylvania epitomizes the very genius of the Republic. Were not her foundations laid in Peace? The treaty of Penn at Shakamaxon—was it not typical of another conference out of which came another bond—the Constitution of the federal system? Were not each made in concord? True the treaty was never sworn to, but it was never broken. The Quakers did not like oaths. Political oaths are a bad sign. If there was one thing ruffling to Quaker serenity, it was the perpetual proffering of oaths—oaths of religious test, oaths of political test, oaths of supremacy, oaths of purgation, oaths of every sort. His “yea and nay” had more significance than all the oaths of the army in Flanders. How his descendants can approve of these Radical adjurations upon every conceivable occasion, I cannot imagine. Nearly everything connected with reconstruction and the war seems to be copied from English tyranny. We outstrip them. We have oaths as to the belief of the affiant—oaths as to physiology—oaths that black is white—oaths for lawyers and preachers—oaths as to abstract questions—oaths to maintain political tenets—oaths that the party has done nothing and oaths that it won’t do anything—oaths of all kinds. (Laughter.) It would seem as if Radicalism had made us a swearing generation. (Laughter.) I don’t know when there was before so much hard swearing required. If the old Quaker did not swear, he did not break his affirmation, as some of his beligerent and degenerate descendants have done. He never broke the Indian treaty, as some of his

descendants have broken the Constitution. It was originally cemented in the spirit of friendship and faith. It was sacred to him. Within your borders the Continental Congress had its seat. Here, too, was the General Government, till 1800. Here, the Constitution was made. Brandywine, Germantown and Valley Forge, do they not stand out in your annals with illuminated text? Since then you have illustrated, by an almost steadfast Democratic history, that patience, sacrifice, persistency, Democratic principle and love for written law, which her origin, character, and history betoken. I feel proud to-night that I stand within the limits of a tolerant, honest Democratic State. (Cheers.) The victory you gained last year, in the election of Judge Sharswood—(cheers)—and the interest of the republic, can you not repeat it on Tuesday next? (Cheers.) I bid you struggle for it like men. You did your duty to the republic in the great civil war, as you did in all former trials of the Government. Much as the Democracy are maligned, they joined with their opponents, on the 25th of January, 1861, in your Legislature, to denounce secession. They quoted General Jackson’s message of 16th January, 1833, and pledged the faith and power of Pennsylvania to sustain the Government and destroy rebellion. No Democrat was wanting in that vote or recreant to that pledge. (Cheers.) New York gave to you its aid, through its honest patriotic Governor, Horatio Seymour. (Cheers.) She gave it to you in your darkest hour. You will not allow the memory of it to be blasted by slander or forgotten with time. You pledged your resources, your iron, coal, lumber, salt, petroleum; your farms from the Delaware to the Ohio; all your rich valleys and mineral mountains, to maintenance of the Government and the restoration of the Union. (Applause.) Our opponents give us no credit for helping their administration with means and men. Their language is; “We put down the rebellion. We did the fighting! Who saved Western Virginia? (Cheers for McClellan.) Who at Antietam, saved Pennsylvania from invasion? Whose name—the shade only in name—rallied the fight at Gettysburg? Of the three millions of soldiers on the army rolls, were they all Republicans? Only one million eight hundred thousand men voted for Mr. Lincoln. Where did the rest come from? And were all the Republicans warriors (Laughter)? Were

there no Wide-Awakes nursing their babies and their wrath at home (Laughter)? Who were the braves that had the money to buy substitutes? Who of the Radical orators "Drew out the sheath and threw away the sword," and bled for his country like a blackberry pie (Laughter)? It is insulting, it is idle, to hurl taunts, my Radical friend, against your tax-paying neighbor, whose Democratic boy fought this great fight for the Government. The Democracy made as many sacrifices as you. More. He joined with his political adversary, and gave his strength to your administration for the sake of the Union (Cheers.) What have we in return for these sacrifices?

Taxes! taxes! nothing but taxes!

Grinding our noses as sharp as axes.

(Laughter.) The grindstone is still turning, faster and faster; and for all our sacrifices, expenditures, and blood, we have—no Union, no peace, no hope, save in the Democracy. Where is the model of Government which Jefferson pictured for you in his inaugural? "A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." He called this the sum of good government. This only was necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

PERVERSION OF GOVERNMENT.

What a mockery on this Democratic definition have we to-day? Is not Government itself, instead of restraining—provoking and helping men to injure one another? Is it not dashing race against race—State against State? Is there not chaos in ten States? unrest, fever, bad blood, decay? Is there freedom for industry or improvement? Is not the mouth of labor robbed of its hard earned bread, and what for? To aggravate bad rule, to perpetuate rancorous revilings and partisan power, to destroy human contentment, and to insult Christian charity. This is the sum of good government! This is the circle of our political felicities!

CAUSE OF FORBEARANCE.

The wonder is that this nation has been so patient under such exactions and wrongs. I look around for a solution of this forbearance. We find it not in the wisdom or frugality of our rulers, but in the benignity of Providence, in spite of their folly and extravagance.

Since the war, has not Providence favored us with bountiful harvests? Therefore it is that we have not felt, to the point of resistance the load of taxation. We have been remonstrant, but patient. Let one unfavorable season occur, and language will fail to depict the misery that will ensue. Do you know that Pennsylvania has been signally favored? Among all the States she has fared best. But she is as she is, in spite of the misrule which hampers industry in other sections and States; though even she suffers in common with the body of which she is so important a portion. She not only bears her share of the general burden, but her own particular share. These, as I shall show you, are enough to crush even her iron energies. Nearly all, if not all, of our annual earnings, are paid to support this Government, as it has been run under Congressional, military, negro, and Bureau rule. How long, if this be so, can this Government remain solvent? How long if we continue, shall we invite capital and immigration from abroad? If it continue the next year we will have either to lay more taxes, issue more bonds, or go into bankruptcy. If already our burdens are consuming our net products, is it not time for the people of Pennsylvania to arouse and demand better servants? (Cheers.) You are a people not anxious to avoid taxes fairly laid and judiciously paid out. You want to know that you get your money's worth in the government! You do not want to pay for negro rule, military repression, anarchy, and lawlessness. (Cheers.) If you pay taxes you want the equivalent. You want a "frugal and wise government." If you cannot get the sum-total of good government, you desire to approximate to it; and if you cannot close the circle, you want something of the felicities we once enjoyed under Democratic auspices!

FISCAL PROPOSITIONS DISCUSSED.

Now I make the following proposition;

1. That the working and business men of Pennsylvania pay directly or indirectly in taxes, on an average, over \$128 per annum, *per capita*.

2. That these enormous taxes, since the war, are from seven to ten times as much as before the war.

3. That taking the census of 1860, with the number of producers as a basis, realizing over \$6,500,000,000 a year, and after deducting what is used in living, the rest at this time is *all used*

by atrocious system of taxation; so that this nation is not growing under Radical rule, as it did under Democratic rule, but is degenerating into bankruptcy and ruin.

4. That the cost of living is three times as much now as then, while wages do not bear the rate of increase.

5. That our expenditures are growing daily, and will be greater hereafter even than in the past three extravagant years.

6. That all our agricultural crops, and that immigration are decreasing, while our expenditures are growing. This decrease is in consequence of ruinous taxation.

7. That the representation which has preserved the character, form, and poise of this Federal system, is being disordered and the system destroyed.

8. That our expenditures are going on at an accelerated rate—forty millions per month—so that we must either tax more, issue more bonds, or go into insolvency.

9. It has ruined the coasting trade as well as the Southwestern river trade, and destroyed the natural blessings which the unrivalled watershed of Pennsylvania has bestowed.

10. Radical rule is destroying one great resource of the people, not only for their families, but as a revenue to the Government by the donation of public lands to monopolies; that nearly two hundred millions of acres have been thus absorbed; or three hundred and twenty-two million of dollars given away to private persons, which belonged to the people.

Lastly, there is no relief from this extravagant, exclusive, partial, and ruinous administration, but in a change of rules; that those who have made this havoc are continuing and will continue the same system: and that any change would be for the better.

TAXATION PER HEAD IN PENNSYLVANIA.

To prove these statements I will give you the figures. Figures may be made to lie, but when figures are facts, they are the truth and cannot lie. The figures I shall quote are facts, obtained from official authority. The statistics of Pennsylvania I shall quote from the report of Hon. J. F. Harttranft, Auditor-General of Pennsylvania, and the Federal statistics from the reports of Federal officials. The latest State and municipal reports I have been able to obtain are those for the year which ended December 1, 1866—fifteen months after the war closed. In

that year, the local taxes per capita in your most densely populated county, Philadelphia, were as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| City and County taxes..... | \$8 17 |
| State taxes..... | 1 87 |
| Federal taxes | 16 47 |

Total\$25 61

This is not for every workingman, but for every head of population, including old men, boys, women, and children. The proportion of workingmen to the whole population is as one to five. Each workingman and each business man has to pay for five persons, himself including. Multiply \$25.61 by 5; you have the taxation laid upon each producer in your community. The total is \$128.05. This is about the sum that each Pennsylvanian now pays for the privilege of being governed. These are the figures of 1866. The figures of 1868 are no less, but rather more. I cannot obtain the city, county and State taxes for eighteen sixty-eight, but the Federal taxes show the results which follow.

And let us, for the purpose of verifying my statement, make a comparison of taxes in 1860, 1866, and 1868, to compute the *per capita*.

Federal Taxes.

| Year. | Population. | Per capita. | Total Taxes. |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1860..... | 31,445,080 | \$1.78 | \$56,054,599 |
| 1866..... | 34,555,892 | 16:17 | 558,032,620 |
| 1868.... estimated) | 37,900,000 | 11.00 | 405,638,133 |

State Taxes.

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------|-------------|
| 1860....Pennsylvania..... | \$3.01 | \$2,368,967 |
| 1866....Pennsylvania..... | 1.27 | 4,060,148 |

City and County Taxes.

| | | |
|----------------------------|------|-----------|
| 1860....Philadelphia..... | 4.13 | 2,334,252 |
| 1866....Philadelphia | 8.17 | 4,084,539 |

But the comparison of Federal taxes in 1866 and 1868 does not tell the whole story. The expenditure of this Radical government were greater in 1868 than 1867. They will be greater still in 1869. Look at the figures which I quote from the celebrated Letter of Director Delmar, of the Statistical Department:

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES.

Fiscal years.

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1867—Total expenditures, actual... | \$392,444,291 |
| 1868—Total expenditures, actual... | 414,913,604 |
| 1869—Total expenditures, actual... | 482,059,201 |
| Federal taxes, 1866..... | \$558,032,620 |
| Federal taxes, 1868..... | 405,638,133 |

The expenditures in 1868 were 22½ millions greater than in 1867, and in 1869 they will be 67 millions greater than in 1868. The difference between these amounts and the taxes levied are obtained by borrowing, by issuing government stock, and so increasing the debt, at 70 cents to the dollar. In other words, for every 70 dollars of deficiency in taxes you are pledged to pay, by Radical policy, \$100 in gold in the future. Compare this astounding burden with the one we bore in 1860, previous to the war, when the then recent panic of 1857 made the cry of over taxation the burden of oratory:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Federal taxes, 1850 | 56,054,599 |
| Federal taxes, 1866 | 558,032,620 |
| Federal taxes, 1868 | 405,638,133 |

ten times as much in 1866, one year after the war closed, and seven times as much in 1868 three years after the war closed!

EXTRAVAGANCE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

This extravagant increase is not confined to Federal administration. Your executive documents show that your own State Legislature, like Congress, doubled the expenses of Democratic times. Nine years of Radical rule has cost you \$2,251,744.14; being \$1,120,469.74 in excess of the nine years before Radicalism cursed your State. The cost of a Democratic legislature in 1858 was \$172,452.15; of the Republican legislature in 1868, about \$350,000. In 1869 the expense was \$321,451. They copy Congress. Is this wise and frugal? Republican officers in Pennsylvania have boasted of their economy, and that they have paid off a part of your State debt. Compare the expenses of 1858 with 1867: Printing, 1858, \$41,889; 1867, \$130,138. Judiciary, 1858, \$134,466; 1867, \$256,677. Library, [1858, \$3,193; 1867, \$30,726. Public Buildings nearly three times as much, and "Miscellaneous" has grown from \$7,794 in Democratic 1858 to \$88,518 in Radical 1867! They boast they have paid over \$4,000,000 of your State debt; they have not reduced it as much by \$148,105 per annum as the Democrats did while in power. The expenses generally have been trebled. Do you wonder that each voter pays \$128 per annum in Pennsylvania? In New York it is even more! Taking all taxes, there is \$180,000,000 levied on New York State! More than 11 per cent on the assessed values; \$45 *per capita*, or \$225 for each head of family! England only pays \$10.85, *per capita*; France, \$9.59;

Russia, \$3.59; Turkey, \$1.85; Prussia, \$5.35; Austria, \$7.42; New York, \$45; Pennsylvania, \$25 *per capita*, or \$128 to the voter! Is this wise or frugal? Who pays the burden, and how? How do you pay this \$128 per annum? You pay it indirectly—but you pay it; for labor pays it. You pay it in the price of everything you eat, drink, and wear. It creeps into your pocket, snakelike—insidiously. Look at the prices! Every tax is a part of the price. To be exact, I take those which ruled in the wholesale markets in New York on the 1st of October in each year.

| | October 1, 1860. | October 1, 1868. | |
|---|-------------------|---------------------|---------|
| | <i>Groceries.</i> | <i>Tax or Duty.</i> | |
| Tea, Hyson, common to fair, per ½ lb..... | \$ 24 | 25c. ½ lb, gold.... | \$1.05 |
| Coffee, Rio, prime, ½ lb | 11 | 5c. ½ lb, gold.... | 24 |
| Sugar, Cuba, grocery, ½ lb | 06 | 3c. ½ lb, gold.... | 12 |
| Molasses, Porto Rico, ½ gal..... | 30 | 8c. ½ gal., gold.. | 70 |
| Salt, Liverpool, ground, ½ sack..... | 1 10 | 24c. ½ bush., gold | 1.85 |
| Pepper, ½ lb..... | 07 | 15c. ½ lb, gold... | 35 |
| Flour, ½ lb..... | 03 | None..... | 04½ |
| Whiskey, domestic, ½ gal..... | 17 | 50c. ½ gal., cur., | 1.50 |
| Total..... | \$2 01 | | \$5.85½ |

For what cost \$2 01 in 1860 you have now to pay \$5 85½, or nearly three times as much. Is it necessary to extend the comparison to articles of clothing and to rents? These are but a few articles. Your matches cost eight times as much as formerly! Salt, candles, and soap more than double; starch 15 where it once cost 10, your boots, shoes, books, stationary, furniture, cutlery, crockery, have increased in price 100 per cent.; dry goods 50 per cent.; drugs and cigars 300 per cent.; paints 200 per cent., and so on. You know better than I do, how exorbitant prices are. This is due to taxation. To prevent this, let us reduce prices of 1868 to gold; \$5.85 worth of goods, in currency can be purchased for \$4.18 cents in gold. This is twice as much as the prices in 1860, and 16 cents gold or 24 cents currency to spare. Now what wages do you get as compared with 1860? Do you get three times as much, in currency? No. Do you get 2 1-10 times as much in gold? No. You go down into your coal mines. You are hidden from the sweet light of the sun. You work and delve and sweat and worry all day and far into the night. Your exhausting toil obliges you to eat heavy food to keep up the wear and tear; and what is the result? More work, more sweat, and when the conflict of races begins in the South, as it will under this bad rule, you will find Pennsylvania athrong with

negroes who have not even a carpet bag. (Laughter.) To whom the Freedman's Bureau can no longer give support, and whom it will send, as it is now sending, North to compete with you at lower wages in the paths of industry. Is this the sweet humanity you were taught to vote for? Is this either wise or frugal? Yet we are told the poor man does not pay these taxes. He has no money. I say, he who produces, in the last analysis, pays all. (Cheers.) Is not the working man taxed on all he uses; his tools, his food, his clothing, his rents? There is no exaggeration in this verse. The poor man can sing it truthfully, even though it be jocosely:

We are taxed on the cradle in which the child lies,
Taxed on the bed upon which the man dies;
Taxed on the shroud that covers his body,
Taxed on the shroud, though we know it is shoddy.

(Laughter.)

Taxed on our clothing, our meat, and our bread,
Our carpets and dishes, our tables and bed,—
Our tea and our coffee, our fuel and lights;
Taxed so severely we can't sleep o' nights:

(Laughter.)

TOTAL ANNUAL EARNINGS OF THE COUNTRY, AND HOW THEY ARE ABSORBED.

To illustrate how unbearable the burden of taxation is which is now placed upon us, I will call your attention to some very important statistics. I have been at great pains to obtain the authentic data. These data will show the balance sheet of the nation. I pray you to heed the facts and conclusions.

In 1860, the total population of this entire country was 31,445,080. Of this number about one-fifth, or 6,289,016 were working and business men. The whole number of persons who had any occupation at all was 8,287,043, as set forth in the census of 1860. But of this number about one-fourth were engaged in occupations that do not directly contribute towards the production of wealth. I refer to religion, science, the fine arts, education, the learned professions, amusements, officers of the law, servants, brokers, agents and middlemen, in a great variety of occupations. They are consumers of other men's production.

The total value of all the products of the labor of these 6,289,016 workingmen, or, if you please, these 8,287,243 persons having any occupation at all, or if you choose to add the then working slaves, who numbered 2,021,248, making altogether 10,308,291 persons who had any occupation whatever, was \$6,454,174,245.

The following table from the *International Almanac* of 1866, furnished the data:

| OCCUPATION. | NUMBER OF PERSONS. | VALUE OF ANNUAL PRODUCTS. |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Agriculture..... | 3,394,685 | \$2,125,072,810 |
| Slavery (principally agricultural)..... | 2,021,248 | 632,650,624 |
| Manufactures..... | 1,765,532 | 1,105,223,032 |
| Commerce..... | 919,351 | 1,007,148,864 |
| Laborers without particular employment..... | 970,432 | 455,617,824 |
| Mines..... | 158,157 | 99,006,282 |
| All other occupations..... | 1,078,986 | 1,029,454,809 |
| Total..... | 10,308,291 | \$6,454,174,245 |

The combined product of every person in this country who contributed in any way, either directly or indirectly, in freedom or in slavery, either by his physical labor or his intellect or his capital, towards the production or conservation of wealth or its proper and economical disposition was, if valued in dollars and cents, worth about six thousand five hundred million dollars! By another method of computation, that of valuing the product of the year, the gross cost of distributing them for the purpose of consumption, and by capitalizing as gross product the labor and capital spent upon the improvement of real property, the result was \$6,794,624,040. By a third method of computation, that of taking the income returns of 1865 as a basis of estimate, the result was \$6,902,771,591. This is a substantial agreement. In such large figures it is a very remarkable agreement. The average of the three methods of computation shows that the value of the annual product of all the labor of this country was, in 1860, \$6,848,697,815. Now for my first conclusion! Of this enormous sum of values, it required no less than \$6,135,218,929, or over 89 per cent. of the whole amount, to support the whole population of 31,445,080 souls. *So that something less than 11 per cent. was the total amount saved during the year 1860.* Even this is enormous. The saving made each year at that period was valued at \$713,478,886. *I append this table showing the value of the gross earnings of the 10,308,291 industrial population in 1860; the cost of supporting the whole population of 31,445,086 souls during the year, and the value of the net earnings or savings of the year. Here it is:*

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Total gross earnings or product..... | \$6,848,697,815 |
| Total cost of support or consumption.. | 6,315,278,929 |
| Total savings or net product..... | \$713,478,886 |

There is no ledgerdmain in these figures! Seven hundred millions a year was the sum of

our annual net product in 1860. It is no greater now, even though the population has increased to perhaps 37,021,000 of souls.

Our foreign commerce is entirely destroyed; the industry of the South is prostrated, and her industrial population is kept in idleness by political excitement and uncertainty, and the vicious measures introduced by Congress. All the taxation we can pay must come out of this sum of seven hundred and thirteen millions. If we do not take it out of this sum, we must sell our property our land, our houses, our stock of food, and our clothing. We must raise the means to live first. To live is more pressing than to have government. But this computation is far too liberal; I take another mode. It is an axiom with economists that about two and a half per cent, on all the values represents the net earnings of a country. But if we call this per cent. three and a half, we will not be accused of an understatement of our net profits. If, then, \$560,000,000, or three and a half per cent. on our values, be the estimate, we shall find that, after paying for the expense of government, we shall have nothing left.

The State taxes are not easy to compute without greater labor than I am able to devote to the subject at this stage of the campaign; but they are estimated at \$250,000,000, an amount which in my judgment is far below the truth. Now reduce that portion of the expenditures of 1868-9, which are in gold to currency: I mean the interest on the public debt, the gold interest paid to the bondholders which is untaxed, and which amounts to \$130,000,000 a year alone. Add to this such of the Navy Department and Consular and diplomatic expenses as are paid in gold, say \$10,000,000 more, and you will have another conclusion. First, let me give you a table showing the estimated taxes to be paid by the people of the United States in 1868-9:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Federal expenditures..... | \$481,059,201 |
| Premium on \$140,000,000 gold @ | |
| \$1 40..... | 56,000,000 |
| State and local taxes..... | 250,000,000 |
| Total taxation..... | \$788,059,101 |
| Total net earnings..... | \$560,000,000 |

We have seen the amount of taxation is \$788,059,201; so that the net product of the nation fails by over two hundred millions to pay the taxes of this Radical administration. ("Hear, hear.") Where will this end! In an utter con-

fiscation of all values, lands, houses, monies, bonds, and stocks. Will it stop short of repudiation? Who is there to protest? Where is the spirit now like that which actuated Hampden, when, rather than pay the shilling tribute, he risked the taint of treason? How different from the spirit of those brave Hollanders who, besieged in the town of Haarlem by the rapacious Alva, beheaded eleven of their Spanish prisoners, and with grim facetiousness threw their heads over the walls into the camp of the Spaniards, with this note: "Duke of Alva, thou hast demanded a tenth from the town of Haarlem. Here is the sum, with an extra head for the interest!" The revolt, I counsel, is not one of physical force, but of mind. I would not have you cut off the heads of Radical law-makers and tax-gatherers. Chop off their political heads. (Cheers and laughter.) The interest with which I would have you repay them is not a mutilated body, but 10,000 additional ballots for Seymour and Blair! (Cheers.) Men of Pennsylvania! you should know what oppressive taxation means. You remember the old tocsin of '76 now in Independent Hall! Certainly you recollect the whiskey rebellion of 1784! Your ancestors were not apt to be blind to the exactions of tyranny or the corruptions of speculation. Emulate their spirit, and next Tuesday will sound the tocsin of a regenerated Republic! (Cheers.)

And now I desire to call your attention to the danger we are in of being met by a deficient harvest:

First, I will show you how the general agricultural crops of the country have fallen off as compared with population since 1860. I will then show how the exports have fallen off; and finally how the crops of Pennsylvania have diminished; and how the old boast of thirty bushels of wheat to the acre is changed to ten bushels, and even less.

Value of principal agriculture crops of the United States at various periods:

| Year. | Total value in gold. | Population. | Gold value per capita. |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| 1840..... | \$612,796,684 | 17,669,453 | \$36 |
| 1850..... | 974,494,989 | 23,191,876 | 45 |
| 1860..... | 1,624,844,498 | 31,445,030 | 52 |
| 1867..... | 1,778,200,000 | 34,506,882 | 52 |

I can here only give the totals. You will observe how production advanced from 1840 to 1850, and from 1850 to 1860. Since that period it has, in spite of reaping and mowing machines, and improved methods of all kinds, stood still. Mind, I am not comparing periods of peace with

a period of war, and years of peace which followed war or other calamities. All the periods mentioned were years of peace. The year 1840 was two years after the great panic. The year 1850 was two years after the close of the Mexican war, and the year 1867 was two years after the civil war. I will now compare the quantities of the product of the great staples in 1860 and 1867.

Quantities of certain staples produced in the United States in 1860 and 1867 respectively. From the report of the Director of the Bureau of Statistics for 1867; page 34.

| | Total crop | Per capita Pop. 1860. | Total crop | Per capita Pop. 1867. |
|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| Ind. Corn, bush. | 838,792,740 | 27 | 867,946,295 | 25 |
| Wheat, bush.... | 173,104,924 | 5½ | 175,000,000 | 5 |
| Potatoes, bush. | 153,243,893 | 5 | 107,200,976 | 3½ |
| Tobacco, lbs.... | 134,209,461 | 13¾ | 388,128,684 | 11¾ |
| Cotton, lbs.... | 2,154,820,800 | 68½ | 885,790,400 | 26 |
| Cane sugar, lbs. | 230,982,000 | 7½ | 40,000,000 | 1½ |
| Butter, lbs.... | 459,681,372 | 14¾ | 490,000,000 | 13¾ |

Here are the very elements and staves of life! What better evidence than this of the oppressive nature of Radical rule! Observe the imminent danger of future short crops and years of famine and unbearable distress!

FAILURE OF IMMIGRATION.

No better test of our prosperity can be adduced than the number of our immigrants. It is a sign of good government. Immigration has fallen off. I again quote from the reports of the Bureau of Statistics for 1867, page 81. Immigration into the United States from 1866 to 1868, inclusive:

| <i>Fiscal Years.</i> | <i>Immigrants arrived.</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1866, report of 1167..... | 330,705 |
| 1867, report of 1867..... | 311,996 |
| 1868, report of 1868..... | 273,402 |

The year after the war closed, the immigration was 330,705. We suppose that with the close of hostilities the country would be restored Peace and industry would be encouraged and rewarded. Iron workers and miners from England and Wales came into this State. I am told that many of them went home discouraged. The immigration in the following year fell off more than 18,000. In 1868 it again fell off some 38,000 more. Moreover, there is now what there never was before, a considerable number of persons, chiefly Southerners, harassed by invidious legislation, who leave this country annually for foreign parts. Their number has not been accurately determined, but it is thought to be over 25,000 per annum.

REPRESENTATION DESTROYED.

According to our Constitution, two Senators are elected for each State. It was not the design to permit such Senatorial representation until the community was sufficiently numerous to entitle it to at least one member of Congress. Thus, there would be equality with States already admitted. But what is the practice now? Virginia is split into two States to obtain additional Radical votes in the Senate. All the Reconstruction measures are framed with the same view. Look at the figures again. Pennsylvania, with a population of 3,500,000, has but two Senators. Nebraska, with a population of scarcely 30,000, has the same number. Nevada, with a population of 6,800 in 1860, has now the same. Florida, with a population of 141,000, has the same. Observe the effects of this in financial and other topics of the pocket—on tariff, taxes, internal improvements, postage, schools, commerce, railroads, land, and all subjects on which the Federal Government decides. Was there ever so bold a scheme to grasp and perpetuate power? This, too, at the expense of the people and to the ruin of our system.

THE EXPENSES \$40,000 A MONTH—WHY?

The official statements of the expenditures of the General Government during the current fiscal year continue at an undiminished rate. Congress before it adjourned provided for the appointment of several hundred new officers. We have a new batch of inspectors, gaugers, supervisors, clerks, and assistants in the Internal Revenue Bureau. It is a political ring with ardent tendencies. Congress provided for 50 additional clerks in the Second Auditor's Office. It created a new governmental department—the Bureau of Education. This was a perfect sinecure. But it was intended to teach the young idea how to shoot Radical ideas. (Laughter.) It is not only contrary to the genius of our Federal Government, but it robs the localities, State and municipal, of their care over education. It is the prelude to the coolie farce of Burlingame. One clause of the Chinese treaty grants to the little Mongolian pigtails the use of Schools under Federal management. (Laughter.) How it will be managed in the Asiatic line can be judged a little by the African arrangement of the Bureau. (Cheers.) In other words, it is a provision for the benefit of the

school masters and marms of one locality. They are to be pensioned on a forbearing people, for the regeneration of Democratic California and the Mongolian race. Besides, Congress passed the Tenure-of-Office bill to secure their places to every dishonest public servant who is ready to support the Radical organization. It left the whole machinery of a government erected in time of war in full activity in a year of profound peace.

MAGNITUDE OF THE BURDENS.

These extravagant expenditures were fully set forth in Mr. Delmar's letter. The Radical press attacked it with fury, but they only found an impregnable array of facts before them. They then attacked the estimates of the current year, but now a late telegram from Washington comes to meet them even on this ground.

The statist computed the expenditures of the current year in detail, and the total was \$482,059,201. The telegraph now informs us that the monthly expenditures during the current year 1868, average nearly forty millions a month, actual moneys paid out of the Treasury, or \$480,000,000 per annum; within a fraction of the estimate made.

Men of Pennsylvania! cannot you call a halt to this marauding band of plunderers! Forty millions a month! Where does it go? Much of it finds its way into the pockets of Radical hirelings and contractors, brokers and agents. I am at a loss for comparisons and illustrations to show you the amount of our debt and expenses. Take the debt, two and a half billions! If you should count \$50 a minute, on the ten-hour rule of a day's work, it will take some 270 years to count our debt. (Cheers.) If you count only the expenses of a year, say five hundred millions, at the above rate, it will take you fifty years, or fifty men one year, to reach the amount! If you count a dollar a minute it would consume a period from the era of Cain to Ben. Butler. (Laughter.) If you would cover an area with dollar greenbacks, it would cover Jupiter and his moons, or plug up Boutwell's hole in the sky, where he wanted to fix Johnson. (Laughter.) Seriously, what good might it not do, frugally developed? What utilities it might serve, left in the peoples' purses! The expenditures of the Government for one month would construct and equip 1,000 miles of railroad at \$40,000 a mile, the rate at which the

actual cost of all the railroads in the United States is estimated in Poor's Railway Manual of this year. A little more than three months' expenditures would construct and equip all the railroads in the State of Pennsylvania, the mileage of which, according to the same authority, was at the close of the year 1867, 4,300! 4,300 miles of railroad at \$40,000 per mile comes to \$172,000,000, which sum is expended every one hundred days by this "wise and frugal" party! Every hundredth day the people are made to yield taxes enough to buy up all the railroads in the great State of Pennsylvania—a State which owes all its greatness mainly to these splendid arteries of commerce. See how the wheels of industry are clogged by this mighty drag! How long do you intend it shall last? Shall wrong continue to breed its like forever? Shall you be pestered, by cries of traitor and copperhead, from studying these facts and figures?

COMMERCE FAILING.

While traveling in Maine, I found their great interest, ship-building and commerce, absolutely dead. The silence of the tomb was in their ship-yards. Once they resounded with the noise of industry. Now all is idle. The very coasting trade, protected by the navigation laws, to partake of which foreign built vessels are forbidden, even when owned and manned by American citizens, is suffering nearly unto death. There is no trade from New York under our flag to foreign ports. No cotton goes out abroad, except in other than our ships. We are ruined in our commerce. We hang our heads in shame. But this ruin is not limited to one trade or business, nor to one locality. Why did you of Pennsylvania unite in carving out your way to the Gulf of Mexico, when secession strove to hold the mouth of the Mississippi? Long before France sold us Louisiana—while Spain held it—the brave and adventurous people of Western Pennsylvania actually rigged out their flat-boats, and collected some 2,000 men to the deltas of the Great River and took it by force from Spain. It was their natural outlet. It is yours yet. It is your safety against exorbitant railroad charges for transportation. The river trade, like that of the lakes, became a great source of wealth. Think of your situation!

SOUTHWESTERN TRADE DESTROYED.

One of the great natural advantages of this State consists in its having a watershed that

empties into two oceans. The streams that run eastward empty into the Atlantic. Those that run westward drain the Valley of the Mississippi and empty into the Gulf of Mexico. You own a part of the Gulf Stream. You are blessed by nature, but cursed by man. This Radical party drains you of your resources. The great south-western trade is lost to you. It was formerly a large trade to ship iron, hardware, nails, agricultural implements, castings, coal and produce, down the Ohio to Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and out to the main! This trade is virtually destroyed. The reconstruction measures have paralyzed the industry of the South. There are no statistics that will definitely illustrate this falling off in the south-western trade, but the fact is familiar to all. It is the counterpart of the failing coastwise trade. Resurrect the industries South by a new programme; enfranchise and energize the people who are intelligent, and give them protection, and the olden commerce will revive. This can not be done by a policy of repression and hate!

LAND MONOPOLY.

There is another topic to which I wish you to give particular attention. It has hardly been adverted to during this canvass. I refer to the gigantic land monopolies with which we are being burdened under Radical legislation. Monopolies have always been a means of grasping at wealth and power. The history of the ascendancy of favored classes and the degradation of the people, and of those mighty revolutions which turned back these tides of tyranny, is marked by the rise and fall of monopolies. The revolution in which Charles II. lost his head was largely due to the insufferable monopolies he had conferred upon his favorites. Among the list of grievances which the French Revolutionists of '89 alleged, monopolies bore no insignificant part. When this Government was founded there were no monopolies within its domain. Since that time there has been a steady growth. Soon these parasites will overcome the parent trunk. The last vestige of genuine liberty will then have disappeared. One of the chief outlets and safety-valves for the numerous evils which Radical rule has brought upon us has been the freedom with which land could be obtained. Tax a man more than he can bear, and he strikes for higher wages. If the strike ends successfully he has in a measure obtained relief. Should it end unsuccessfully, there re-

mains but two resources for him. Either to suffer the exaction, or seek relief by occupying the public lands. He rushes to the primal and most ennobling occupation, that of cultivating the soil. In this way, and owing to the plenty and cheapness of the lands, have we been able to bear as much as we have of Radical rule. But even this resource is being gradually taken from us. *The public lands are being rapidly monopolized.* To one railroad alone has been given as much land as would suffice to make several good-sized States. According to the surveys and estimates made prior to 1858, the public lands covered an area of 2,265,625 square miles, or, fourteen hundred and fifty million acres, embraced within the limits of the States and territories existing at that time. The entire area of the Union, including its rivers and lakes, was, in the year 1860, 3,001,002 square miles, since which time it has not increased, except lately in the acquisition of Alaska. Of the fourteen hundred and fifty million acres of public lands there had been disposed of in various ways, from the organization of the Government up to the 30th of September, 1863, the following areas:

| | ACRES. |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Land sold for cash* | 152,334,856 |
| Otherwise disposed of | 253,036,639 |
| Total disposed of | 405,371,545 |
| Undisposed of | 1,044,628,455 |
| Total | 1,450,000,000 |

In other words, during a period of 75 years 405 million acres of public land had been disposed of in various ways; but an area equal to half of the whole amount disposed of during a period of 75 years, cautiously and safely for valuable considerations, has been since 1863 recklessly dissipated in less than four years of Radical rule. (Cheers.) Since the date above mentioned nearly two hundred million acres of public lands have been given gratis to railroad corporations alone. I quote from the report of the Secretary of the Interior, for 1867:

The railroad interest has received, among other favors and franchises of the Government, grants of public land amounting to 184,000,000 acres, in aid of lines extending in all directions to the borders of civilization, under the plea of furnishing facilities of travel, and the production of the fruits of agriculture and the products of mines; and the results have been seen in extended settlement and expanding cultivation. [Note this term "expanding," not "thorough," cultivation.] Yet growing stronger,

* About \$190,000,000.

disregarding the general welfare. these MONOPOLIES have continued in their tariff of rates to discriminate unfairly against farm products and to require much the larger portion of the value of the crops for their transportation to market.

At \$1.25 gold per acre, the average price realized by the land previously sold for cash, this donation of one hundred and eighty-four million acres was worth two hundred and thirty million dollars gold, or three hundred and twenty-two million dollars, currency.

In conclusion, have I not shown how your industries are burdened, your net profits absorbed, your cost of living increased, your expenditures growing monthly, your agriculture falling off, your system of federal representation destroyed, your commerce blighted, your government debt increasing, your credit threatened with bankruptcy, your resources squandered, your public lands given away to monopolies, and the country itself finding no relief, no peace, no tranquility. Why cannot there be a change? Let the people decide. The sword has done its worst and its best. Let it be beaten into ploughshares. Let the spirit of peace and concord come again! Let us bear our part, at least, in the duty of election between the parties, without prejudice or passion! then all may be well. Men of Pennsylvania, Horatio Seymour once saved your State from the invasion of a hostile force from the South. (Cheers.) He will save you again, elevated to the Executive chair; for he has the wisdom, frugality, and patriotism of the best days of the republic! (Loud cheers.) Will you do your duty? You will have labor and sacrifice to undergo. The enemy are unscrupulous and bold. They have the renown of a great soldier to cover their misdeeds. But you will bend to the work. The people of America will crown your labors! Your founder, from his prison, once sent forth a pamphlet, "No Cross, no Crown." Bear your part of the sacrifice, and you will have the guerdon.

"Those that bear the cross to-day
Shall wear the crown to-morrow."

(Cheers)

(Addendum to Speech of Oct. 9.)

Balance-Sheet of the Country.

LETTER FROM S. S. COX.

Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 10, 1868.

To the Editor of the World.

SIR: It ought to be a matter of interest to every one, of every party, to ascertain with some

degree of certainty the amount of our net product as a people. I have endeavored, as others have, to know what it was, with a view to ascertain whether it was not being used up by taxation. This nation will never economize under a currency and a rule such as we have, till it knows that its salvation depends on it. It is not easy to find out the net product of our industries. I tried it without much satisfaction. In my remarks in Bloomsburg, I gave data, and from them deducted some conclusions. If they provoke inquiry, discussion, and a better elucidation of the facts, I shall be glad. I took the estimate of Mr. Tilden as to the local taxation—*i. e.*, taxation other than Federal. He fixed it at two hundred and fifty millions. His was an estimate; it was under the mark, but reasonably accurate. My estimate is two hundred and sixty-three millions. I send you my figures, collected and collated since my speech. It is impossible for any one, in any library in New York or Washington, to ascertain the aggregate of local taxation. The reports of State officers rarely give the figures. Even in New England, where there is more method in the publication of State finances, there is seldom a report made of the municipal levies. Ohio shows in her reports the whole of the taxation. Perhaps Ohio is an average State. Her towns, cities, and counties have been assessed for railroad and other extraordinary purposes; but other States, perhaps, are taxed more than Ohio on their municipal duplicates for war debts. Ohio furnishes a fair average. I give you my conclusions, based on her returns, adding the data, which confirm my conclusions from other localities. These will furnish the

ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL COST OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

I take the year 1867 as the basis of computation. The revenue of the United States for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1867, exclusive of revenue from loans, amounted to \$536,349,172 28. The population is estimated to have been at that date, 36,000,000. Federal revenue per capita, \$14 90. The population of Ohio at the same date is estimated by the Director of the Bureau of Statistics to have been 2,850,600. Ohio's proportion of contribution to the Federal revenue was therefore \$41,313,000. The Auditor of the State of Ohio, in his report for 1867, shows that the whole amount of taxation levied in that State in 1867 for all purposes, exclusive of Fed-

eral taxes, was \$20,253,615, of which 3,981,100 or 19.6 was levied for the State, \$6,033,638 or 29.7 for the counties, and \$10,238,877 or 50.5 for the townships, cities, towns, and boroughs, and for schools and other special purposes.

Regarding these proportions respectively as 20, 30, and 50 per cent., this would give \$1.42 *per capita* for State taxes, \$2.13 *per capita* for county taxes, and \$3.55 *per capita* for town taxes.

Applying these data to the total population of the country, we have the following results.

| TOTAL TAXES, 1867. | | | |
|---|---------|---------------------|--|
| Population of the United States | | 36,000,000 | |
| <i>Per Capita.</i> | | <i>Amount Paid.</i> | |
| Federal..... | \$14 90 | \$536,349,172 | |
| Town, etc..... | 3 55 | 131,350,000 | |
| County..... | 2 13 | 78,810,000 | |
| State | 1 42 | 52,540,000 | |
| Total taxes | \$22.00 | \$799,049,172 | |
| RECAPITULATION. | | | |
| Cost of Federal Government..... | \$14.90 | \$536,349,172 | |
| Cost of State and Local Govern- ments..... | 7.10 | 262,700,000 | |
| Total..... | \$22.00 | \$799,049,172 | |

—almost eight hundred millions! Others who have figured upon these matters, while differing on the items, singularly agree upon the aggregate. Allow me to present other data which relate to Federal and local taxation. The year 1866 is selected because it furnishes the most, and the most reliable information. The taxation of New York city, so enormous, was discussed last fall during the mayoralty campaign. It was shown by Mr. Hoffman and others, that the great bulk of it was due to the outside government, commissions, etc., for which the Democratic administration of the city was in no wise responsible, and against which they were, and are, in perpetual protest.

The following is a statement of the amount of taxes assessed in the cities named for city and county purposes for the years 1860 and 1866, and their relation to population:

| | <i>Amount.</i> | | <i>Rate p Capita.</i> | |
|----------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------|
| | 1860. | 1866. | 1860. | 1866. |
| New York..... | \$7,649,873 | \$15,606,896 | \$9 40 | \$17 34 |
| Philadelphia.. | 2,334,252 | 5,084,539 | 4.13 | 8.17 |
| Boston | 2,294,533 | 4,224,202 | 12.90 | 21.98 |
| Cincinnati.... | 1,298,621 | 2,010,322 | 8.06 | 10.39 |
| Chicago..... | 373,315 | 1,719,064 | 3.42 | 8.57 |
| San Francisco. | 796,666 | 1,496,657 | 14.03 | 18.71 |

The increase in the city and county shown in these figures is astounding. In New York City these taxes now amount to \$17 34 per head, against \$9.40 in 1860; in Boston the increase is \$9.08 per head; in Philadelphia, \$4.04; in Cin-

cinnati, \$2.33; in Chicago, \$5.15, and in San Francisco, \$4.68. In order, however, to ascertain the whole amount of taxation to which our city populations are subject, it is necessary to add to the foregoing the share, *per capita*, of taxes levied for State purposes, and also for Federal imposts.

The amount of State taxes levied in these States, and the proportion *per capita* compare as follows:

| | <i>Amount of Taxes</i> | | <i>Tax p. cap.</i> | |
|-----------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------|
| | 1860. | 1866. | 1860. | 1866 |
| New York..... | \$4,376,167 | \$17,369,043 | \$1.13 | \$1.84 |
| Pennsylvania.. | 2,368,967 | 4,060,148 | 0.81 | 1.27 |
| Massachusetts. | 901,010 | 3,137,531 | 0.73 | 2.49 |
| Ohio..... | 3,504,713 | 3,867,167 | 1.50 | 1.50 |
| Illinois..... | 1,825,792 | 2,514,023 | 1.07 | 1.17 |
| California..... | 1,131,063 | 2,233,492 | 2.99 | 4.96 |

The following is a statement of the population, internal taxation, customs, and debt of the United States in 1860 and 1866, and their relation to population:

| | 1860. | | 1866. | |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|-------|
| | 1860. | 1866. | 1860. | 1866. |
| Population.... | 31,500,000 | 35,000,000 | | |
| Internal revenue | \$309,226,813 | \$— | \$8.83 | |
| Customs..... | \$53,187,512 | 179,046,651 | 1.69 | 5.12 |
| National debt. | 64,769,703 | 2,783,425,879 | 2.06 | 79.53 |

The whole taxation per head of the population of the respective cities is thus summarized:

| | <i>City and Co.</i> | | <i>State.</i> | | <i>Federal.</i> | |
|----------------|---------------------|---------|---------------|--------|-----------------|---------|
| | 1860 | 1866 | 1860 | 1866 | 1860 | 1866 |
| New York... | \$9.40 | \$17.34 | \$1.13 | \$1.84 | \$1.69 | \$13.95 |
| Philadelphia. | 4.13 | 8.17 | 0.81 | 1.27 | 1.69 | 13.95 |
| Boston..... | 12.90 | 21.98 | 0.73 | 2.49 | 1.69 | 13.95 |
| Cincinnati... | 8.06 | 10.39 | 1.50 | 1.50 | 1.69 | 13.95 |
| Chicago..... | 3.42 | 8.57 | 1.07 | 1.17 | 1.69 | 13.95 |
| San Francisco. | 14.03 | 18.71 | 2.99 | 4.96 | 1.69 | 13.95 |

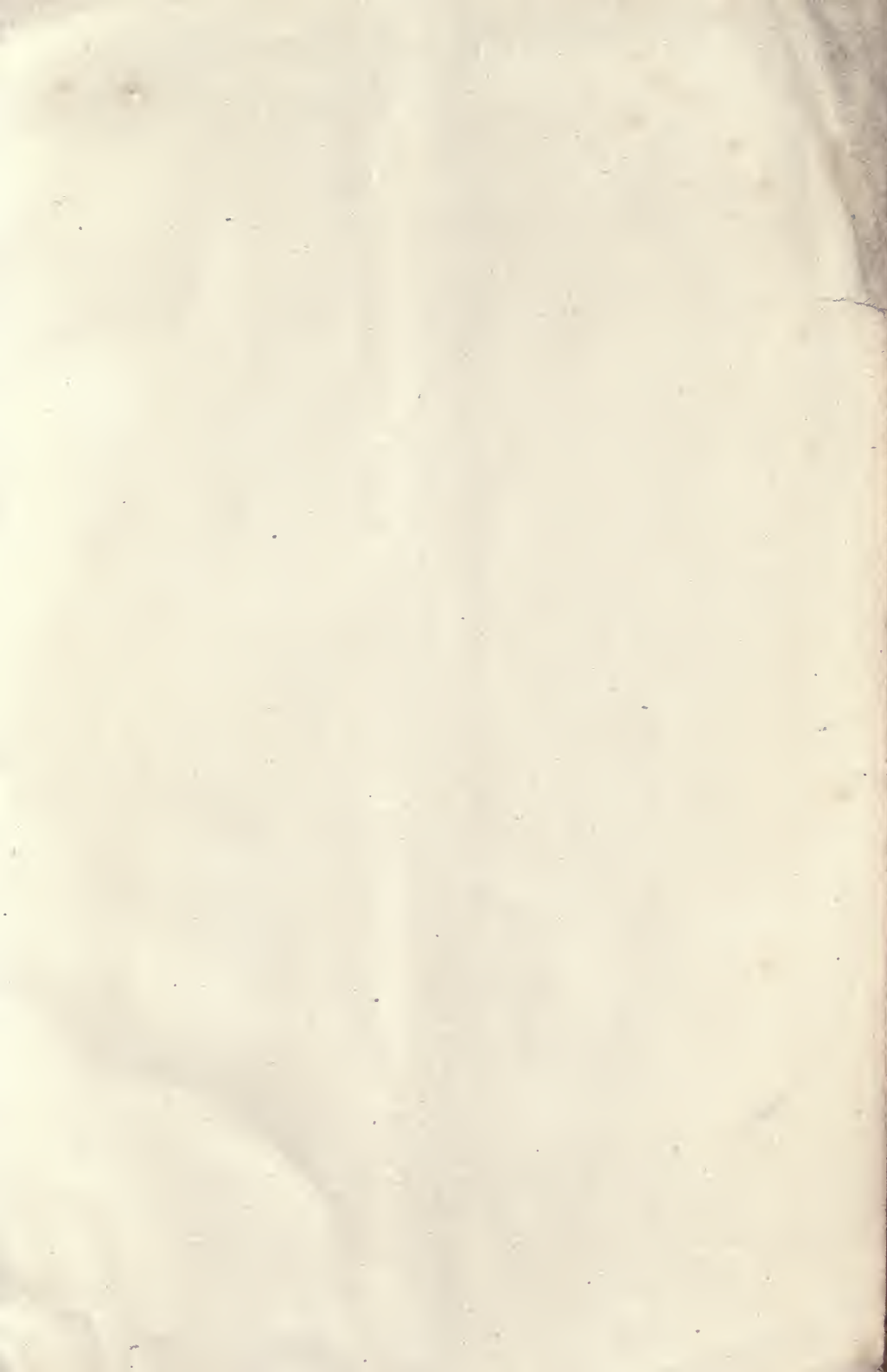
TOTAL CITY, COUNTY, STATE, AND FEDERAL TAXATION.

| | <i>Total.</i> | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------|
| | 1860. | 1866. |
| New York..... | \$12.12 | \$33 13 |
| Philadelphia | 6 63 | 23 39 |
| Boston | 15 32 | 38 42 |
| Cincinnati..... | 11 25 | 25 84 |
| Chicago..... | 6 18 | 23 69 |
| San Francisco..... | 18 71 | 37 62 |

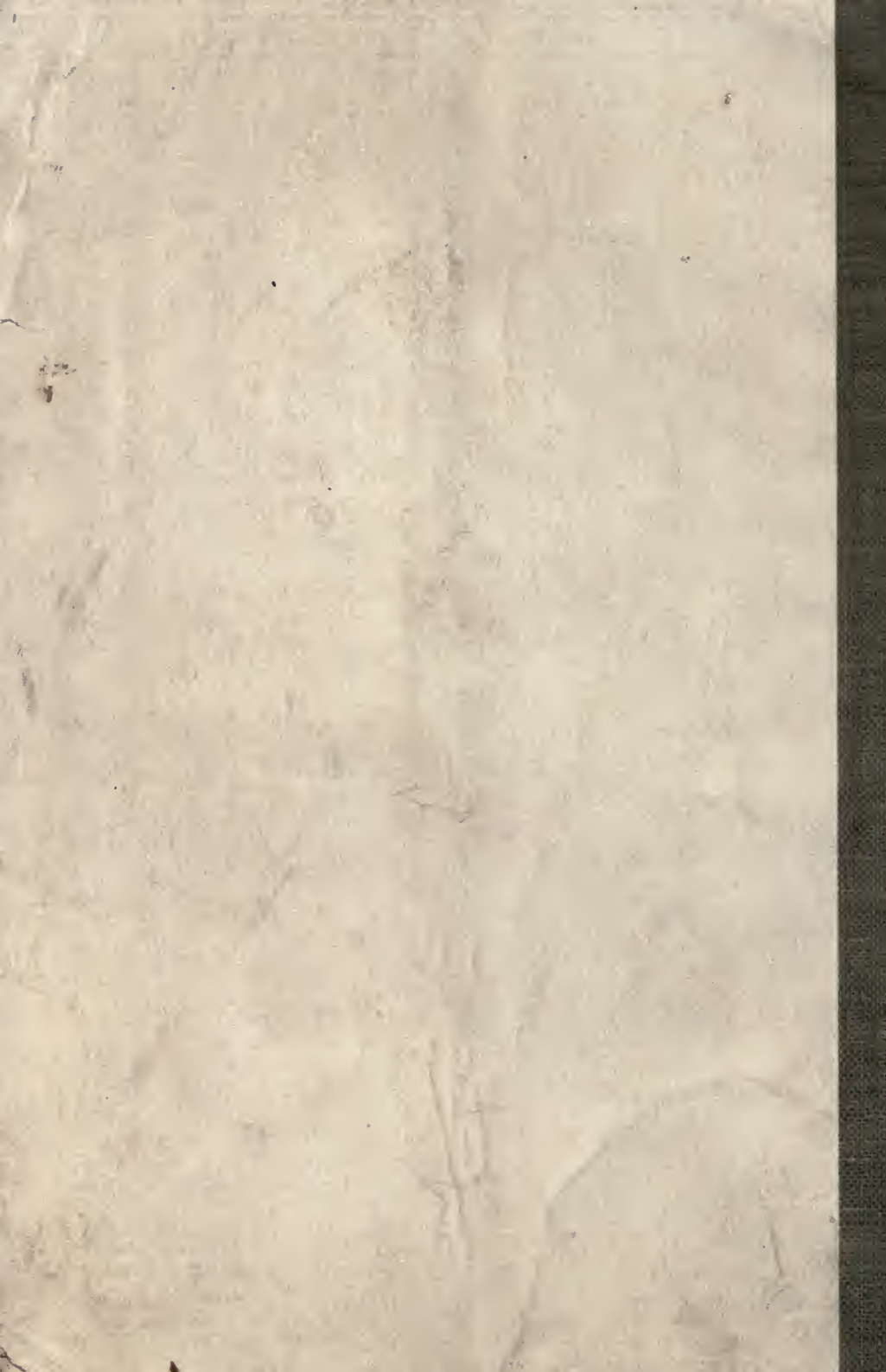
"It will appear from a comparison of these figures that the total taxation of our city population, so far as may be judged from the cities here instanced, has increased from about \$12 per head in 1860 to \$30 per head in 1866. There is considerable diversity in the proportions between the different cities, and the ratio of increase also varies materially at the several places; but this may be taken as the average augmentation of our burdens since the year antecedent to the war. Allowing five persons to each family it would follow that the amount of taxation paid directly and indirectly by our city population is \$150 per family against \$60 in 1860, showing an average increase of \$90 per family." It is demonstrable by various methods that our net product—the amount annually saved from the product of labor—is wholly absorbed by this intolerable, extravagant, and growing taxation.

Yours,

S. S. COX.



G#: 50703207G



PAT. JAN. 21, 1908



